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COLONEL GORDON, C.B.

THE sudden resignation by Colonel Gordon of his position as Private Secretary to the new Viceroy of India, caused a feeling of intense surprise, and it is no wonder that much idle gossip has gone the round of the press upon the subject. We must confess that we were far more astonished when Colonel Gordon told us that he had reluctantly accepted this office, than we were when we heard of his resignation. A more singular attempt at placing a round man in a square hole has seldom been made.

The Colonel has now gone to China, where we trust he may succeed in his self-imposed mission of inducing the Chinese and Russian governments to maintain the peace which has been from time to time threatened. We should gladly have heard of his return to the scene of his former labours in Africa, where the grasp of his firm hand is again sadly wanted. A man with such a character must be and is a power, wherever he may go, and it is interesting to note that the mere rumour of his advent to India spread alarm in some circles, and joy in others.

The *Friend of India* thus heralds the approach of the man who had so sternly put down insurrection in China, and slave-hunting in the Soudan:—

"There is not in the world a man of kindlier gentler nature than Col. Gordon; we know of

no man more terrible to shams and charlatans. His mere presence in Indian official society will be a kind of shock which will send a shiver through all its vanities and artificialities, and may, indeed, in time, create something like a revolution. But Col. Gordon is the most modest and unassuming of men, and so far as official society does not interfere with him in the discharge of his duty, he will probably let it go its own way; but if so certainly its ways will not be his ways. We hardly venture to hope that he will be a popular man in official society. To hope that would be to hope for the quick regeneration of official society, and our faith is weak. But a change and a great change there must be, with the Marquis of Ripon as viceroy, and Gordon as his right hand. The mere fact of the Marquis's conversion proves him a man who has all the courage of his opinions, a man who can look the whole world in the face, and do what he thinks right, fearless of its frown and careless of its favours. His sincere piety, after the manner of English Catholicism, may be taken for granted.

"Colonel Gordon's religion is of an equally prominent kind; he is a Puritan of the grandest type; a man whose closest friend and companion is the Bible, and there are people in these days who think that a man of much prayer and Bible reading must be weak-minded and old-womanish, but it will probably be admitted that the leader of the 'Ever-victorious Army' and the ruler of Upper Egypt is an exception!"

One who knows Col. Gordon most intimately thus writes of his great work in the Soudan, which he has been compelled to leave:—

"His kindness and love for these poor people has been great, it is painful to think that all his hard work has apparently been useless, but as we advance by recoiling we will trust that the rebound will greatly exceed the falling back into the cruel practice of slave-hunting.

"Are we not as a nation partly to blame for this disgraceful cruelty, by demanding an undue interest on money lent to Egypt, which they know not how to pay? Slave-trading is most remunerative, and therefore the present Khedive is in high favour with his own people, and with some other nations, Egypt having returned to this evil practice."

Nor should we forget that it was in China, that Colonel Gordon made that great reputation which caused him to be known ever afterwards as "Chinese Gordon." In an able editorial of the 16th June, the *Daily News* discusses the Chinese difficulty, and we think that the following extracts from that article will be of interest to our readers, to all of whom Colonel Gordon is now a familiar name.

"It is thoroughly natural that Colonel Gordon should be deeply interested in Chinese affairs. But for him the Flowery Land might at this moment be devastated in the manner usually quoted from the prose of Milton. Gordon made his first acquaintance with China as a young officer in the Engineers, at a time when we had 'difficulties' with the Chinese Government. After the war he remained in Peking, from which he made an adventurous journey through districts almost unknown to Europeans. In 1863 he became commander of the 'Ever Victorious Army' which was raised to put down the Taiping rebellion. China was in a state of anarchy. The most populous and wealthy provinces were in the hands of armies of brigands. The silk factories were silent, the cities were falling into a desolation as complete as that of Gaur. It did not seem impossible that an old and melancholy passage of history might repeat itself. In the forests of Yucatan and in the jungles of Cambodia, the traveller finds forsaken cities whose very name has perished. Temples, palaces, and shrines remain, gaunt and bare, scored with hieroglyphs of which the key is lost with the language of the kings who ruled there in a dateless antiquity. Rebellion, war, famine, and pestilence have caused this desolation, and they were ready to do their old work in China, when Gordon bade them pause. His marvellous power of leading men, a power derived from an inflexibly determined, fearless, and deeply religious temperament, influenced the Chinese as the Arab prophet influenced his countrymen. His very name became a terror to the banded brigands, and he left China at peace within her borders, and with a chance of recruiting her finances and reorganising her army and fleet.

"Nothing can be more romantic than the

position of Colonel Gordon, if we can fancy him at the head of a Chinese army. The testimony of English officers makes it probable that the Chinese soldiery are difficult to mobilise. The army of each province distinctly objects to being sent to fight in any other province. The men are not uniformly armed. Neither they nor the officers lack courage, but they all lack dash, resource, and 'initiative.' If a battle is going against them, or if the line of march is precipitous and difficult, they resign themselves to fate. They do not run away, but they wait the course of events which can hardly be favourable. They have no shiftiness, no ready wit; they invent no sudden new mode of overcoming or evading difficulties or dangers. Colonel Gordon supplied the mind which without him the 'Ever Victorious Army' would have lacked. By virtue of this he was, and perhaps again might be, the conquering leader of a Chinese army. Such a leader, secure of the adoration of his men, might renew the marvels of Mexican conquest. The oldest existing civilisation might be at his feet. He might outdo the successes of Cortes by as much as the Chinese is greater than the Aztec Empire. The fortunes and future of Asia might be changed, as the first Bonaparte well knew, by one European adventurer. The character of Colonel Gordon is not averse from great enterprises, and it is impossible to say what ideas about his duty he may derive from the Book which is his familiar counsellor."

THE REVIVAL OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

WITH the present number we forward a small pamphlet entitled, "*Colonel Gordon and the Slave-Trade*," the contents of which we heartily commend to the notice of our readers. The sad details of the sudden revival of this abominable traffic, which were sent to us by our correspondent in Cairo, are fully confirmed by Dr. G. Schweinfurth, the well-known African traveller, in a letter written by him from Cairo, and published in the "*Kölnische Zeitung*," of 7th June. In this letter Dr. Schweinfurth bears eloquent testimony to the prompt and courageous conduct of Gottfried Roth, a Swiss teacher in the American Mission-school, who alone of all the inhabitants of Assiout had the energy to denounce the slave-trading delinquencies of the pashas, and principal men of the place, not even excepting certain consular agents. Mr. Roth describes how he went down with this slave-caravan, which num-

bered some 1,200 slaves, and was surrounded by groups of negro boys and girls, *who were freely offered to him at from fifteen to twenty gold Napoleons each!* There was no attempt at secrecy in the matter.

After Mr. Roth's prompt action had set the authorities in motion the bulk of these slaves were hidden away in Assiout, and Dr. Schweinfurth declares that many of the principal inhabitants lent their efficient aid in this matter. The secrecy of the harem provided a safe covering for this iniquity, and although Arab midwives were allowed to go and search for slaves, we are told, "they found none"! The only marvel would have been if they had.

Dr. Schweinfurth concludes his eloquent letter in the following words:—"The slaves that Mr. Roth succeeded in rescuing at Assiout were brought down to Cairo, in order to be '*set free*' in the usual way. That is to say, they were distributed among the pashas and beys! These officials occasionally re-distributed them among their dependents, who again, in some cases, gave them their freedom for money. And this is what is called '*liberating the slave*'! Is it not a disgrace to this civilised age, and what may be called a slap in the face to all the conquests and triumphs of African exploration, that the Anglo-Egyptian Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade, signed 4th August, 1877, should acknowledge the impossibility of restoring slaves to their homes, as stated in Article III.?"

"Taking into consideration the impossibility of sending back to their homes slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) who may be captured from slave-dealers and liberated, without exposing them to the risk of perishing from fatigue or want, or of falling again into slavery, the Egyptian Government will continue to take and apply in their favour such measures as they have already adopted, and which are hereinafter enumerated in Annexe A, to the present Convention."

"IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE!" exclaims Dr. Schweinfurth; and then he adds, "freeing slaves according to the Egyptian plan is very much like confiscating smuggled goods, and then dividing the spoil among one's friends!"

Respecting the appointment of the Austro-Italian Count Della Sala, another correspondent writes to us:—

"It may truly be said that no appoint-

ment has caused such an universal murmur of dissent as that of Count Sala, an Italian, who only occasionally lives in Egypt, and it is to be hoped that his place will soon be occupied by an Englishman, whose heart is in the right place. Several reasons, some of them bordering on the ridiculous, have been given for the appointment of this Italian, but all trust he may be recalled. Mr. Roth would make a far better and more energetic champion of the slave, and, by his late admirable conduct, he well deserves such reward."

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

ON Monday, June 7th, a Deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had an interview with the Right Hon. the Earl Granville, K.G., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—(with whom were Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., and Messrs. T. V. Lister and Owen, of the Slave-Trade Department,)—at the Foreign Office, when a Memorial on the alarming increase of the slave-trade in Egypt, the Red Sea, and the Mozambique Channel, was presented. Suggestions were also offered as to the appointment of Consuls and Vice-Consuls at Khar-toum, Massowah, Hodeidah, and Suakim.

The deputation (which was introduced by Sir George Campbell, Bart., M.P., K.C.S.I.) included—The Baron de Ferrières, M.P.; Dr. Humphrey Sandwith, C.B.; Major-General Rigby; Rev. Chauncy Maples (of the Universities' Mission, Masasi, East Africa); Messrs. T. R. Hill, M.P.; T. Fry, M.P.; P. A. Taylor, M.P.; F. W. Buxton, M.P.; Hugh Birley, M.P.; Henry Richard, M.P.; Hugh Mason, M.P.; Arthur Pease, M.P.; Edward Hutchinson (Church Missionary Society); F. W. Chesson, (Aborigines' Protection Society); and the following members of the Anti-Slavery Society—Messrs. Samuel Gurney, F.R.G.S. (President); Joseph Allen, (Treasurer); Edmund Sturge (Hon. Secretary); Rev. H. Waller, F.R.G.S. (Member of Committee); J. G. Alexander (Member of Committee); C. H. Allen, F.R.G.S. (Secretary); J. Eastoe Teall.

Letters, expressive of approval and regret at being unable to attend, had been received from Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.; Sir

H. Verney, M.P.; Alderman McArthur, M.P.; Messrs. Serjeant Simon, Q.C., M.P.; J. B. Firth, M.P.; J. Corbett, M.P.; J. P. Thomasson, M.P.; J. Webster, M.P.; H. Broadhurst, M.P.; G. Palmer, M.P.; W. H. James, M.P.; T. Burt, M.P.; &c., &c.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (in introducing the Deputation) said: My Lord, owing to the absence of the gentleman who would have performed the function much better than I can, I have been very unexpectedly called upon to introduce this Deputation from the Anti-Slavery Committee and their friends who are here to-day. I feel that the position of that body and the respect shown to them from all quarters is such that their reception by your Lordship will not depend upon anything on the part of the gentleman who undertakes to introduce them. I confess myself I am not thoroughly acquainted with the details of the matters which are mentioned in the Petition, so far as the transactions of the last year or two are concerned. I am not aware how far the present Government in Egypt have really acted in a manner different from that of its predecessor; nor have I the latest intelligence as to the state of the slave-trade in the Red Sea; but I sat a few years ago as a member of the Fugitive Slave Commission, and I have since occupied myself a good deal with these matters, and have taken occasion to travel in, and interest myself about the affairs of, Turkey and Egypt; and putting aside the particular allegations contained in this Petition, respecting which I am not personally particularly informed, I have a strong opinion that, at all events up to a very recent period, the slave-trade in the Red Sea and also in the Indian Ocean beyond the Red Sea, was carried on in an extremely active and open manner. The evidence which was given before the Fugitive Slave Commission, and also documents which were subsequently brought to light, I think, made it perfectly clear that cargoes of slaves were shipped from one side of the Red Sea to the other in a manner quite unchecked and quite uncontrolled; and, in fact, that up to that time at any rate, the slave-trade in the Red Sea was carried on in a most open and barefaced manner. I think also at that time we had reason to fear that in the Mozambique Channel, and other parts of Africa, the slave-trade was springing up.

As regards Egypt I am not specially in-

formed, further than from what we have learned in the newspapers. This I know, having travelled recently in Egypt, that Siout is not an inaccessible or remote town, but, on the contrary, it is one of the principal provincial capitals in the centre of Egypt; and, I believe, it is undisputed that a great caravan of slaves travelled down from the Soudan as far as the town of Siout, and openly encamped there. Whether the same thing was done in the time of the late Egyptian Government, or the present Egyptian Government, I confess it seems to me totally impossible to suppose that it was not done with the full cognizance and practical assent of those who are responsible for the administration of Egypt.

The town of Siout is so placed that, if I may venture to use an illustration, the connection with that matter on the part of the Egyptian Government, would be somewhat as if in India an immense caravan of slaves had come from Central Asia to, say, Benares, and encamped openly near that town. I think it would be impossible for the Indian Government to suggest that their officers and magistrates were totally innocent of participation in a trade of that kind. That being so, and having the best reason to believe, my Lord, that this trade is, at this time, really exceedingly active, I have very great pleasure in introducing to you this Deputation.

I may, also, perhaps, be permitted to express my own individual opinion, as one who has looked a great deal into the subject, that we never shall get rid of this trade by any amount of negotiation with the Porte, and the Turkish Pashas, or by diplomacy of any sort or description, until we are prepared to use a strong hand, and put it down with something approaching to coercion. Since all the civilised nations of the world are agreed as to the propriety of putting a stop to the slave-trade, the best mode of dealing satisfactorily with that question would surely be to make the slave-trade piracy. As regards the particular question of the Turkish and Egyptian slave-trades, it is totally unnecessary that I should urge upon your Lordship that of which I am quite sure that your Lordship is at present very well convinced—namely, that nothing is to be gained by mere negotiation with those Pashas who rule in Constantinople and Cairo; that, as long as it is

possible, by evasion and by promises unfulfilled, and any other means, to avoid any amount of diplomatic pressure, they will evade anything that may be pressed upon them; and it is not until your Lordship and the British Government (I hope in concert with other Powers) are prepared to take more vigorous, more energetic, and more coercive measures against them that anything will be done with them.

As I said before, the slave-trade is carried on in so very open a way that if your Lordship once resolved that strong-handed measures must be taken, then, in that case, there would probably be no practical difficulty in putting an end to this trade, for the behoof and benefit of all.

My Indian experience induces me to believe that if the Turkish and Egyptian Governments were willing to cease to support the institution of domestic slavery, it would not involve many real and practical hardships to the Mohammedan populations of Turkey and Egypt. It is quite true that, for their domestic arrangements, they have been accustomed to depend upon a form of domestic servitude which is common in the East; but, my Lord, exactly the same state of things prevailed in India before the Act of 1843. There the Mohammedan populations were very much accustomed to depend, in their household arrangements, on what were called domestic classes. Your Lordship is aware that the action of the Indian Government was this:—An Act was passed, not violently interfering in households, but laying down in short and precise terms that no Court or Magistrate of British India should re-enforce the obligations of the pretended slavery. Some persons supposed that this would disturb the domestic arrangements of the great Mohammedan population of India; that it would have the effect of causing discontent and disturbance amongst them. My Lord, the result was nothing of the kind. There was no serious disturbance of those domestic arrangements. It turned out that that slavery was of a kind approaching the domestic service; that those Mohammedan families were able to carry on their households, but the so-called slave ceased to be really held to slavery practically without complaint or serious discontent. Therefore I may venture to urge upon your Lordship that it really is the case that, as regards the

upper classes of Turkey and Egypt, if a law similar to that passed in India should be passed in those countries, and (what is much more unlikely) that it should be really executed and carried into effect, little practical hardship would result.

Under these circumstances, I venture to hope your Lordship will receive favourably the Deputation, and the Address which your Lordship will allow me to present to you in the name of this Deputation (*handing document to his Lordship*).

The Memorial (which was taken as read) was as follows:—

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society avail themselves of the earliest opportunity of addressing Her Majesty's present Government on a subject which they feel to be of pressing importance, and one which claims its early attention.

It is a notorious fact that after the accession of Tewfik Pasha, the Egyptian Government withdrew its support from Colonel Gordon, and from his anti-slave-trade administration in the Soudan and in the regions of the Upper Nile, and that as a consequence of this action the slave hunts and the slave-trade again prevail in those countries in their former horrors.

Coincident with this change it has been announced that Egypt is again contemplating the seizure of the coast, not only at the southern end of the Red Sea, but of the Indian Ocean, as far as Cape Guardafui.

At the same time it is also a matter of regret that recent information indisputably shows that the slave-traffic has once more assumed formidable dimensions in the Mozambique channel, from the coast and territories claimed by the King of Portugal.

It is to this state of things that the Committee now ask of Her Majesty's Government a prompt and earnest attention.

As the result of a careful consideration of the best and most recent information obtained from those regions, the Committee venture to submit the following measures for adoption as most conducive to the extinction of the slave-trade, now again flourishing in its former vigour under the shadow and virtual protection of Egypt:

The establishment of a permanent Consulate at Khartoum as a central position; it being understood that its supervision shall extend over the Soudan, and to the shores of the Red Sea;

That a Consulate or Vice-Consulate be established at Massowah, not merely for the repression of the slave-trade, but in view of its being maintained as a free port for the development of an import and export trade with Abyssinia and the countries adjacent, with branch establishments at Suakim and Hodeidah;

That the Khedive of Egypt be urged to amend the slave-trade treaty concluded with England by his predecessor, so far as to abolish immediately the legal status of slavery in Egypt. This measure, while involving no violent or sudden disruption of the social or industrial conditions of the people, would, in the opinion of the Committee, contribute most of all to the speedy cessation of slave-hunts and of slave-trading in those regions of Eastern Africa.

In support of this view they refer with confidence to the Act of May, 1843, by which all the slaves within the territories of the East India Company were unconditionally and immediately set free. Probably more than a million of slaves were thus emancipated from a bondage which had been continued for centuries, and yet none of the dreaded results of so great a change ever took place. On the contrary the status of the people was improved, and such would, no doubt, be the case in Egypt if slavery were to cease.

The Committee need hardly remark that the success of these measures will depend largely, if not entirely, on a judicious selection of those persons who may be designated for this special department of the Consular Service. In connection with this subject they refer with much pleasure to the appointment of Dr. Kirk as Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, whose appointment might well serve as the model of what is required in the present conjuncture.

The Committee would submit that it is vain to expect that the slave-trade will be extinguished by temporary appointments, or spasmodic efforts however energetic; but with efficient Consuls and Vice-Consuls, animated by a genuine interest in the work, and with their head-quarters at Khartoum and Massowah,

in conjunction with an *active* Consul at Jeddah, they believe that the slave-trade in these regions will steadily, if not speedily, decline, and this at a charge to the British Exchequer, even for well-paid Consuls, that would be trifling, when compared with the heavy cost of repression by means of the Naval Service.

Trusting that these suggestions may receive the earnest consideration of Her Majesty's Government,

We respectfully subscribe ourselves,

On behalf of the Anti-Slavery Committee,

JOSEPH COOPER, } *Hon. Secs.*
EDMUND STURGE, }

CHARLES H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

June 7th, 1880.

Mr. EDMUND STURGE: Before other friends who have a practical experience of the state of things existing in Africa, and particularly on the East Coast, address your Lordship, as representing the Anti-Slavery Committee I will just take the liberty of adverting to one or two points in the Memorial.

In designating the positions for the establishment of Consulates, the Committee have acted on the advice and experience of Colonel Gordon and of other travellers; and last, but not least, of a gentleman who has had long experience in this office, and who, I am sorry to say, has retired from the service. I think the suggestion will be found to be really of a practical kind, and of a nature that will meet the difficulties in the best way that is possible, as far as anything can be devised. Of course that is a question as to which your Lordship will judge.

One of the features of what we recommend is this. We do not recommend any very violent or coercive measures; but we have found by experience that where there has been an active Consul, who has really taken any interest in the subject, he has imposed a moral check upon the slave-trade which has been really very effective, and also most satisfactory. The same view will, I think, be confirmed by some of the gentlemen now present. Where there has been a missionary establishment in any part of Africa, the same result has, in some degree, followed; and the slave-trade has been kept very much out of sight within the area over which they have been able to exercise an influence.

One of the points (and I am very sorry that a gentleman representing the British India Steam Company has been prevented from being here who could speak to that point) is that of establishing a Consul at Massowah, and maintaining it as a free port. I have heard that gentleman say that if such a port was established he has reason to believe that there would be a large development of legitimate trade from Abyssinia and the countries adjoining, which would have, to say the least, a peaceful influence in superseding the slave-trade.

Another point to which Sir George Campbell has adverted is that of getting the Slave Convention of 1877 amended, so far as to effect the abolition of the legal status of slavery in Egypt. The Convention, of which I have a copy here, provides for its extinction in Lower Egypt as far as Assouan, in 1885; beyond that in 1890. That is a very long period, and would only protract the difficulties which exist in the execution of those measures already provided for in the Convention. For instance, a system of registration of such slaves as were held in Egypt previous to the Convention. Of course, supposing it could be carried into effect, and there were any executive in Egypt which could be relied upon to do it, it would be an effectual check upon the slave-trade; but we know that in a country like Egypt, to carry such a system into effect would be all but impossible. For instance, at this moment all the slaves that are coming down to Egypt, if once absorbed by purchasers, leave no means of tracing them afterwards, and consequently I do not think it would be possible to effect the object save by abolishing the legal status of slavery.

The only other point to which I wish to refer, is one not mentioned in this Address, but it is one which may possibly underlie all the others. You are aware that the Committee at the time of the Congress of Berlin, sent a deputation to endeavour to get the support of our Plenipotentiaries to those measures which the Duke of Wellington was instructed to urge on behalf of the British Government at the Conference at Verona; that is to obtain a declaration that the slave-trade was piracy. It was a great disappointment on that occasion that our own Plenipotentiaries (for reasons probably satisfactory to themselves) were not

prepared to support that measure, although we found that France, Russia, Germany, and Italy would all support the proposition, if the English Government, to whom the question pre-eminently belonged, would bring it before the Congress. But that opportunity is over and gone, and I should not revert to it now except that, in the prospect of the rapid dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, we cannot but think it possible that a Congress or Conference may have to assemble in order to determine questions of a wider scope than that of boundaries, and the carrying out of the unfulfilled provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. I would therefore appeal to your Lordship to see, if such a Conference does occur, that the ancient traditions of England may be represented there in a manner in which we feel they were not represented at the Congress of Berlin. With those observations, I will call upon Mr. Chauncy Maples, who has been recently upon the East Coast of Africa, to speak to the state of things existing on that seaboard.

THE REV. CHAUNCY MAPLES: I have been for about two years in Central Africa, at Masasi 10° S. latitude, near the River Rovuma and a third of the way from the coast to Lake Nyaasa: and during the time I was there I heard a great deal, of course, about the slave-trade. But what I chiefly heard was, that caravans were making their way rather to the south of the road formerly traversed, owing to the action taken by Dr. Kirk and Seyyid Barghash with regard to the suppression of the slave-trade at Kilwa and Lindy; but we also heard that though the slave caravans were no longer passing across the Rovuma so as to find an outlet to the coast within Seyyid Barghash's dominions, they had begun to turn to the eastward south of the Rovuma, and had found an exit somewhere in Portuguese territory. Now we could never obtain actual proof of this; but the last report I heard of it was in January, when my colleague, Mr. Williams, reached England, and told me that on his journey to the river Rovuma he heard very plain things indeed of the caravans passing to the coast near Cape Delgado. It was impossible to prove this, but recently a telegram appeared in the newspapers to the effect that two slave dhows were captured at Cape Delgado and Chikoma Bay—the very spot where we

were told caravans were passing to the coast. I may say it is my belief that there is a regular caravan route established for the passage of slaves from the interior of Africa to the coast south of Cape Delgado. I may remind your Lordship that Cape Delgado is the northernmost boundary of the Portuguese territory, and, so far as I know, there is very little to prevent slaves passing out on to the seaboard at that spot. We heard also, while we were living at Masasi, a good many rumours that slaves were still being transported to the coast regions, with a view to shipment from the neighbourhood of Lindy. Lindy is governed by a man under the authority of Seyyid Barghash, a man I know very well, and with whom I have often conversed. When I heard this news I reported it to Dr. Kirk, our Consul at Zanzibar, and on my return to Zanzibar last year he told me the report I sent him was quite true, and amply confirmed by the investigations he himself had made; but it is pretty certain that slaves are not shipped in any numbers either at Kilwa or Lindy, though they are possibly sold on the sly in twos and threes, if not at Lindy, perhaps at Mekandani Bay; but Dr. Kirk exerts his utmost power, and also Seyyid Barghash (of this we have plenty of witnesses) to enforce his authority upon the local governors of Lindy and Kilwa, so that it seems the slave-traders themselves are aware of this, and are now trying to export their slaves from various places on the coast very little known, but probably extending to the south of Delgado for 100 miles. I think the only Portuguese town of any importance in that locality is Ibo; and I have not understood that any pressure has been put upon slave-dealers there by the Portuguese authorities to stop their trade. Of course in regard to that matter we are considerably in the dark. Well, it seems ~~then~~ ^{now}, as far as we can tell at the present day, a very large number of slaves are still—somehow or other—if we are not able to put it more definitely than that—transferred to the coast and sold there, coming from the south and south-west of Lake Nyassa. The question remains in regard to that part, Who are the great slave-dealers from the African side? I suppose I may say the successor of Mataka—a man well known to many of us through Dr Livingstone's last Journals—the successor to

Mataka still keeps up a great traffic in slaves with Mtarika, who lives between him and the coast. He is a great friend of a man I visited myself, Machemba, who lives only sixty or seventy miles from the coast at Lindy; and I feel certain that that man still carries on a very great traffic in slaves. I visited him myself about two and a-half years ago, and he plainly intimated to me that he would not desist from selling slaves so long as the Arabs brought him beads and cloth and wire, and demanded slaves. The question once arose with regard to a caravan of five hundred slaves whom I myself saw. They were all taken to Machemba's, and we were asked to believe that those slaves were detained there as the domestic slaves of this chief. I utterly refused to believe that, and my own opinion was that the great bulk of those slaves found their way to the coast and were sold there (I should not like to say whether at Lindy or not). But I am now of opinion, after receiving the latest news about those two slave dhows to which I referred your Lordship, that those five hundred slaves were, somehow or other, smuggled out of the country on the East Coast, within the Portuguese territory.

I need not trouble your Lordship with the vexed question of what becomes of these slaves. I do not think people, even in East Africa, really know this. Shortly before I left Zanzibar there was a common belief that they were transferred from the coast and sold in Somali land in large numbers. They are taken into the country there and serve as domestic slaves to the Somali people.

On the other hand I was told myself—not by the local governor, but by the second Arab in command at Lindy—that a great number of slaves were taken over to the Comoro Islands; and I daresay this is where the trade has lately increased. It seems also likely that some of them are taken back into the interior, to the north-west of Zululand, and parts about the Zambesi.

I think I have laid before your Lordship all the evidence I am able to give upon the subject. I may just say our mission station at Masasi exercises considerable influence upon the slave-trade. We were able to make a treaty with a very powerful chief, who lives near the river Rovuma, in

conjunction with emissaries from Seyyid Barghash. By the rules of that treaty (which up to this time has been rigidly kept) no one was to sell slaves to Matola. Matola was not to buy slaves or have anything to do with any that came there. He is a very staunch ally, and has kept that treaty; and a peaceful condition of the people has been brought about in the Rovuma Valley, principally by that treaty. The people who were connected with the Zulu tribe, formerly harassed the quiet inhabitants of that valley for 150 miles along the river's course, and now they have settled down there, and I am glad to hear—and I heard it only last week—that they are beginning to do what they have never done before, viz., to cultivate large crops of rice and Kaffir corn.

I am of opinion, then, that no slaves are brought near the coast north of the Rovuma. The slave-traders appear to keep our mission station, at a respectful distance; and this chief Matola has let everybody know plainly that he will have nothing more to do with the slave-trade.

I think I have laid before your Lordship all the information I am in possession of as regards the slave-trade in the Rovuma district.

MR. EDMUND STURGE: Mr. Horace Waller will now address your Lordship.

THE REV. HORACE WALLER: My Lord, as you are perfectly aware, the Foreign Office has to depend in a great measure for details concerning the slave-trade in Central Africa on the missionaries belonging to the different societies employed there, simply because there is at present but a very sparse scattering of Consuls to furnish more direct information; but at the same time it is one's great pleasure to feel that the greater number of those gentlemen who are at present in Central Africa, are only too anxious to furnish to Her Majesty's Foreign Office information which is of an exceedingly reliable kind.

Now, my Lord, without enlarging on those details which a previous speaker has vouched for to your Lordship, I will only confirm what he has said by adding that from various letters I receive from Scotch mission stations in the interior of Africa, and other positions, it is perfectly certain that after the slave-traders recovered from the first shock which they experienced at

the hands of Seyyid Barghash and Dr. Kirk, they set about re-organising their ventures: the slave-trade is exceedingly active in the old hunting-grounds of East Central Africa, and there is a very large exportation of slaves to the coast, more particularly in the neighbourhood of Mozambique.

My Lord, it is within your knowledge that Her Majesty's Consuls, together with the officers in Her Majesty's Navy, have, during the last two or three years, brought to the attention of Her Majesty's Government this fact, that although they do co-operate with the Portuguese authorities in putting a stop to this trade, it is literally a yoking the ox with the ass. Portugal at present (she cannot help her position) is unable, I contend, to expend a large sum of money—that is to say, such a large sum of money as is required to form any active opposition to the slave-trade within her dominions on the East Coast of Africa. It is her misfortune, perhaps, not her fault: but where her fault does begin, my Lord, I take to be just here—that wherever the very active co-operation of Her Majesty's naval officers is tendered, then immediately there is an assumption of petty pride which is vexatious and thwarting to the last degree. Your Lordship will know that we have details in the Blue-books which issue from the Foreign Office fully bearing out all that I say. There are one or two little insignificant gun-boats, nominally with head-quarters at Mozambique, which are hardly ever available in an emergency; and on one (if not two) occasions the whole thing has turned out a fiasco, because the intended operations of the authorities have been made known openly by the slave-traders' friends sending away a canoe or two down the coast, to say the English and Portuguese ships were going to attack them; all this is the direct result of the unwholesome yoking I speak of. On one critical occasion Her Majesty's Officers had to wait until the Portuguese had mended the boilers of their steamers, or something of that kind.

Now, my Lord, this obstructive conduct has been going on to our own knowledge for a very long time: and one is urged to speak more strongly about it than he otherwise would, because we find by the late accounts received from reliable sources that

there is a downpour of this human traffic towards the coast. I did see an item in the papers within the last forty-eight hours which showed that the Portuguese have captured one or two very large cargoes of slaves. But this only goes to prove that there are large cargoes of slaves being shipped from that coast; and when you find these large cargoes deliberately got together, you may be sure that the native chiefs balance the cost and the risk so far that they can embark in these enterprises with something like a good chance in their favour. I speak, I know, with some emphasis on this matter, but it is as the representative of those who are now in Central Africa, continually urging me to bring before the authorities here the fact of the great increase of the slave-trade lately from the regions around Lake Nyassa to the sea-board of the Portuguese. All honour be to Seyyid Barghash and Dr. Kirk, for their names are inseparable in this good work of suppressing the trade on the Zanzibar sea-board; here the traders have received a very great check.

I cannot sit down, my Lord, without asking you to allow me for one moment to make an observation with regard to what is going on in Egypt at present.

It is my privilege to have been very much in Colonel Gordon's company during the last few months, and I am fully aware not only of what is passing in Egypt at present, but what is likely to take place there; and as Colonel Gordon will not in all probability be in this country for some time, it is advisable, perhaps, to advert to what he has represented.

Now the point that he thinks ought to be taken up by Her Majesty's Government in particular is this (and I may add that it is equally a point for the French Government to interest itself in), Colonel Gordon, as your Lordship is aware, had the Soudan fairly within his grasp. He left it from complications which one will not go into now, but a man has been appointed there as Governor of the Soudan, of whom it is not too much to say that he is the most objectionable man to select that it is possible to conceive. Raouf Pasha—a man whose history we can trace back for a very long time—a man who did all he possibly could to thwart Sir Samuel Baker—a man who was continually found in league with Abou Saoud (the principal instrument of

the slave-trade in the Soudan at that time) and a man of whom Sir Samuel Baker, in passages scattered throughout the volumes he has published regarding that country, speaks in most unreserved terms of disgust. Now a straw shows which way the wind blows, and I am quite certain to anybody who has watched this question it must be as a matter of fact that the Egyptian Government at present is going to show its extreme disgust at the great blow which Colonel Gordon has struck at the slave-trade, by at once tearing up all his work. As long as this man, Raouf Pasha, is maintained at Khartoum, it is certain that no better evidence can be offered of the intention of the Egyptian Government to play us false as far as all fair promises in the past have gone. If I may be permitted to do so I will ask your Lordship's special attention to this matter.—I know Raouf Pasha was not recalled on the day that Colonel Gordon left England; and I am not aware that he has been so yet; but, as was represented, I think, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs who preceded your Lordship in office, Raouf is all powerful in the Soudan, although, as I repeat, the very last man who should be there. We have little evidence that matters are righting themselves by the appointment of Count della Salla, as a Special Commissioner to suppress slave-trading in Egypt. It may be, perhaps, better known to your Lordship than to those present, what the capacities of Count della Sella are for this post: but at present the Anti-Slavery Society rather lacks that assurance of his competency which would enable them to congratulate themselves on this nomination.

Certain, it is, as Sir George Campbell says, we have wasted time enough and human lives have been wasted enough all through Africa to make some more active steps exceedingly desirable. I am sure, my Lord, that this Deputation which waits upon you to-day, looks, as it always has done, to your Lordship for that kind expression of English feeling upon this subject which will, no doubt, in time, and in your Lordship's wisdom, reach to those holes and corners of slavery where it will be heard and felt.

Mr. EDMUND STURGE: Mr. Hutchinson will now address your Lordship.

EDWARD HUTCHINSON, Esq.: My Lord,

as Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, I am happy to be here to-day, and was very thankful to come in with the Deputation. I have heard a good deal, in the opinions expressed by the last speaker as to the slave-trade in Eastern Africa, which touches the Church Missionary Society very materially. It is about ten years since the Church Missionary Society commenced an effort in conjunction with this Society, which has resulted, as we believed, in the almost entire suppression of the East African export slave-trade. Moreover we agreed to receive from Her Majesty's Government any number of the victims of the East African slave-trade, that Her Majesty's Government would put into our care, on the understanding that a moderate capitation grant should be allowed for those liberated slaves. Since that time Her Majesty's Government has put into our hands about 450 freed slaves, and from that day to this we have never had the honour of receiving a sixpence for the care and maintenance of those freed slaves; therefore as we are still ready to receive any of those poor victims, when we hear that the East African slave-trade has revived, and know that our settlement at Mombasa will be the one most likely to receive the largest number of freed slaves, it becomes a matter of the greater interest to us to understand what lies before us; still we would certainly hope that Her Majesty's Government would direct their attention again to that portion of Africa in which the slave-trade seems to be reviving. Our best experience leads us to believe this matter does receive the constant attention of Her Majesty's Government. We know that Dr. Kirk has the matter thoroughly well in hand, and a reference to the Blue-book issued in 1879 shows that the Foreign Office and Members of Parliament are in possession of much of the information furnished to your Lordship to-day.

But now with reference to Egypt. I had the honour of being presented by your Lordship with three native ambassadors from King Mtesa of Uganda the other day to Her Majesty; and there were on that occasion present two of our missionaries, Messrs. Wilson and Felkin, who had accompanied these African chiefs from the very centre of Africa. After reaching Gondokoro they had to leave the Nile, and

went through Darfour and over the scene of the recent conflict between Gessi Pasha and Suleiman, the slave-trader, whom Gessi Pasha succeeded in routing, and whom he shot or put an end to in some way. There they had ample opportunities of seeing the extent to which the slave-trade had been carried on. In their journeys through Egypt they had come much in contact with Colonel Gordon, and the kind assistance he afforded them, and the interest he took in our work, brought me very much in contact with him during his last stay in London. Indeed I may say that when he received the offer of the appointment of Private Secretary to Lord Ripon, one of the first things he did was to come and consult me as to the steps that should be taken for directing attention to the subject of the slave-trade; for he feared that with his separation from Africa would cease those efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade which he had set on foot. He was most anxious that Her Majesty's Government should sanction the appointment of a Consul at Khartoum, with a roving commission over the whole Soudan; and he expressed his strong conviction that such an appointment would very materially neutralise the effect of his own departure from that region; and also that only English influence could be relied upon for carrying out by degrees the Convention with Egypt in favour of the abolition and suppression of that trade.

As far as I could gather from what Colonel Gordon told me, and what I have read, my own view is that an appointment of Consul for the Soudan should be accompanied by some provision for a careful blockade, or, at any rate, a watching of the Red Sea. The coasting trade and the interchange of traffic between the Egyptian shore and the Arabian shore is so constant and so perpetual that it really affords means for smuggling, which is the natural outlet for the slave-trade. Moreover, a Consul at Khartoum could not check the traffic on the Blue Nile, and from the borders of Abyssinia, by Massowah to Souakim. The experience that I think has been gained by those who have attended to this matter of the suppression of the East African slave-trade have is this:—Provided there is a market the trade will go on, but if you make the passage to that market so troublesome as to enhance the cost price of the

slave, you are doing the best thing for the stopping of the slave-trade. I should be inclined to say that, without touching the question of absolutely putting an end to the status of domestic slavery in Egypt, if a Consul could be appointed for the Soudan, and if an arrangement could be come to under which there would be a careful block or watch, or a search of those vessels engaged in this coasting trade from Egypt to Arabia, a great deal would be done for the suppression of the slave-trade. I am only a volunteer, and have no right to speak, and am only thankful for the opportunity of making the observations I have done.

Lord GRANVILLE: In the first place, I am very much obliged to the Deputation for having come here. It is now more than forty years since I came to the Foreign Office as a very young man, and I remember the thing that struck me almost more than anything else was the amount of individual labour which Lord Palmerston gave to every detail connected with the slave-trade. I should be very much ashamed if I had quite forgotten that lesson. I should also be ashamed if I had forgotten the support that this Society gave me when last in office with regard to the negotiations that led to the arrangements at Zanzibar.

With regard to what has been stated to-day, the question depends upon two most important points—one is the root of the evil, the institution of slavery, both in Turkey and Egypt; and the other is with regard to the continuance of the slave-trade.

Sir George Campbell spoke, from his Indian experience, of the facility with which the great changes which were adopted in India with regard to slavery, were effected. But it must be borne in mind that there is a great difficulty in the way of abolishing slavery as an institution in a Mohammedan country; and that, whatever pressure you may be prepared to exercise, it is not the same thing with regard to countries that we are not administering ourselves, as in a country like India, where we have absolute power.

With regard to the question of the slave-trade, I am afraid there is great truth in what has been stated to-day; but our most recent accounts are certainly somewhat more favourable, both as regards Turkey and Egypt. We had reported to us in April that a very large seizure of slaves had been

made; and not only had regulations been issued, but the governor of Siout, and the chief of the slave bureau there, had been dismissed, and were going to be immediately tried by court-martial. But there is no doubt whatever that, even in the time of that most energetic man Colonel Gordon, and in his attempts to deal with this matter, there was a great deal of connivance on the part of the local authorities; and it is impossible not to suppose that that connivance is still going on to a great extent. There is also no doubt whatever that there is a large amount of slave-trade being carried on in the Mozambique Channel, owing to the inefficiency of the Portuguese squadron, or what is so called.

I do not wish to take up the time of the Deputation, and therefore I will only say—I think the two principal things to be considered are the recommendations which they have made which are likely to be of practical use. One is with regard to the improvement of the Convention on the subject which exists now between Egypt and this country, and it is a matter to which I promise the Deputation I will pay immediate attention. The other is with regard to Consular supervision. I think it is quite impossible for our cruisers, by merely cruising about, to obtain the necessary information; and I have no doubt that greater Consular supervision, with a more extended jurisdiction, such as is advocated by the Society, is necessary. A scheme is under our consideration: I do not pledge myself to the adoption of the exact scheme recommended, but I shall be extremely obliged for any information that the Society may give me.

One thing I should like to know about Khartoum. It is an exceedingly unhealthy place, and, there being no trade there, the Consul would have nothing to do but watch the slave-trade; and if he were a very energetic man he would probably divert it from that place to another. What is the special argument in the opinion of the Deputation that that place would be the best?

Mr. STURGE: I am told, my Lord, it has been selected as a point where the facility for intercepting the slave caravans is probably the greatest of any. We hear that on the recommendation of Colonel Gordon, and, also, on the recommendation of the

gentleman I just now referred to; and I think we cannot have better authorities than those. We are perfectly aware that it is an unhealthy position, but still parties who are well acclimatised do live there a very long time. It was also stated, I think, that the Consul should have a general supervision, so that he would not always be located in that one spot—otherwise the probability is that (as we have generally found with other Consuls) his health would suffer; but with a roving commission, if I may use this expression, and visiting the surrounding districts from time to time, that effect upon health which we have seen in some of our Consuls may not be produced.

Lord GRANVILLE: Those who have considered the subject in the office are quite of the same opinion as the Deputation with regard to Massowah, Suakim, and the place on the other side—Hodeidah. I do not know whether there is any other information. I am very much obliged to the Deputation.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I am desired by the Deputation to thank your Lordship for receiving them.

WHITE SLAVERY IN EGYPT.

WE have lately received from an Egyptian correspondent the following interesting and somewhat startling account of the sale of a Circassian girl in Cairo. It is only another proof, were any wanted, that the slave-trade still flourishes in Egypt, in spite of official protestations to the contrary:—

"Some days ago, a Circassian girl has been brought from Cairo to be sold at Alexandria, and she has been sold for the sum of £100. This affair has been arranged and terminated in the shop, and in the very presence, of an Italian jeweller (a debased European), situated in the Midan, which is an Arabian quarter of this town. The seller, buyer, and broker were present there; and, as it is well understood, the three are professing the Mohammedan faith. I have been told that there are four other Circassian girls for sale at Cairo.

"It is painful to have to state that some Consuls are far from doing their duty, and that they pay no great attention to the Slave-trade Treaties and Conventions."

In a subsequent letter the same correspondent thus writes:—

"As already stated, the slave-trade is much increasing in the Soudan and in the Red Sea. This nefarious traffic is also much increased in Egypt; slaves are sold here every day. Thus, for instance, an Abyssinian girl was sold last week, at Alexandria, for the sum of *forty* pounds. She is, as I am told, a beauty! One Nubian female slave has been sold too for *fifteen* napoleons; another one for only *twelve* napoleons. I know many facts like these, and if I were to mention them all, my letter would be more than a letter, it would be a volume.

"A new Convention between England and Egypt is a thing of *strict necessity*, but let that Convention not be long: a single article would be sufficient. I mean a clause like this:—

"'Slavery and the slave-trade is for ever abolished throughout Egypt.'

"You may rest assured that if England is really willing to extirpate, *totally*, this infamous trade, it would not be difficult at all."

COL. GORDON, AND ABYSSINIA.

WE are happy to insert the following interesting narrative of Col. Gordon's difficult work in Abyssinia.

During the last few months a considerable amount of interest has been excited by the present condition of affairs between Egypt and Abyssinia. It has been known that, since the unfortunate Egyptian expeditions of 1874-6, when the Mussulman armies were routed with great slaughter, a state of feeling has existed between the two countries which might at any moment have led to war, and would probably have done so before now, had not the king of Abyssinia been engaged in conflict with Menelek, king of Shoa, and with his own subjects, while Egypt had quite enough upon her hands, in consequence of the unfortunate state of her finances.

The information in this country with respect to the quarrel is limited, and, when it was announced in the newspapers last autumn that the new Khedive had requested Colonel Gordon, the Governor-General of the Soudan, to go to Abyssinia and try to conclude a treaty with king Johannes, very

few had a definite notion what it was all about, or what the true history of the matter was. Since Colonel Gordon's return, also, various stories have been in circulation about his visit to the king, some pure fiction, and others with little more than a foundation of truth, which served still further to puzzle those who were interested in the subject, and really wanted to know what he had endeavoured to do, and what was the result.

It is believed, therefore, that an account of the embassy, as related by Colonel Gordon himself, may prove of interest, and serve to throw some light on the history of the political relations between Egypt and Abyssinia, relations which concern not only the two countries, but the European Powers also.

To make the matter clear, it is necessary to go back a few years, and briefly to summarise the events which have happened in Abyssinia since the withdrawal of the English expedition in 1868. That expedition, under the command of Sir Robert Napier, now Lord Napier of Magdala, was sent, it is well known, to rescue certain persons whom King Theodore detained in the country. Theodore, whose real name was Kassai, but who had assumed the other when he was crowned as king of kings and Emperor of Ethiopia in 1855, had been on bad terms with the Khedive for some years previous to the date of our advance into the country, and the latter was anxious that a contingent of Egyptian troops might be permitted to accompany the English army, hoping to profit by the occasion. This was not permitted, however, and the Egyptian troops remained at Massowah. The English forces advanced with little difficulty to Magdala, rescued the prisoners, and took the fortress, in which the king was found dead, slain by his own hand. Lord Napier returned to Zulla and re-embarked his army. The various chiefs of the country had begun to revolt as soon as it became known that Theodore had retreated before the English, and the insurrection in the province of Tigré was headed by Degatch Kassai, better known as the Prince of Tigré, who, by his uncle, Ras Arya, had some right to be chief of this district. He was on friendly terms with the English, and visited Lord Napier on his return from Magdala, who received him well, and gave him, among other presents, some cannon and a good supply of

fire-arms. He marched on Adowa, and defeated the adherents of Theodore, and when the English left the country he proclaimed himself king of Abyssinia, and took the name of Johannes. Goobasie, another claimant for the throne, opposed him, but Johannes overcame him, took him prisoner, and put out his eyes; he then proceeded to subdue the other provinces, and brought all under his power except Shoa, which lies to the south of Abyssinia proper. The coast remained in the occupation of the Egyptians.

Munzinger, a native of Switzerland, who had acted as interpreter to the English expedition, and afterwards became French Consul at Massowah, made an expedition into Bogos, the most northern province of Abyssinia, where a French Mission has been established. It is generally believed that he endeavoured to induce the French Government to take possession of this country, but, failing to do so, he gave up his consulship, and, having gone into the Egyptian service, was made Governor of Massowah and the adjoining country. In 1874 he established a fort at Senheit in Bogos, and occupied this district.

King Johannes did not approve of his proceedings, but, being too much occupied with his quarrels with the King of Shoa and with his own subjects to take any active steps, contented himself with lamentations and with writing letters to the Khedive to complain of the violation of his territory.

Munzinger was summoned to Cairo, and it is supposed he suggested to the Khedive to take possession of Hamasen, the adjoining province. But be that as it may, in the following year, 1875, an Egyptian expedition was sent from Bogos into Abyssinia, under the command of Arakol Bey, a nephew of Nubar Pasha, and Arendrup Bey, a Danish officer in the Khedive's service. At the same time Munzinger himself was ordered to move towards the south of Abyssinia from Tadjurrah, a port outside the mouth of the Red Sea, through the Danakil country.

The attempt ended in a complete defeat. In the month of November, the advanced guard of the Egyptian army, marching from Bogos, was near Gundet, and King Johannes was at Adowa, thirty miles distant. Arakol Bey wrote to him, proposing that the Mareb river should be the frontier

between the two countries; the King temporized and gave no direct answer, but in the meantime, moved his army, which is said to have been 50,000 strong, in the direction of the Egyptians, and, meeting with their advanced guard about 200 in number under the command of Count Zichy, retired drawing the enemy on; then suddenly turning upon them, he cut them in pieces. Arendrup Bey, hearing the firing, advanced to their assistance, but before he could bring his guns into action, he also was surrounded and routed. About 400 Egyptian troops, who were at Gundet, made a good fight, but were soon overpowered, as was also Arakol Bey, who was still on the road from Senheit to Gundet. The Egyptian troops, who were all negroes, fought well, but the odds against them were hopelessly great, and nearly all those who fought with the Abyssinians, were killed or taken prisoners. About 1,000 who were in the rear fled to Bogos, leaving behind arms, ammunition, and nearly everything they had. Many of the prisoners were killed or mutilated, and about forty of the latter were sent back by the king, with the message, "Here are eunuchs for you."

Munzinger, who had advanced from Tajurrah, about four days' march through the Danakil country was equally unfortunate, being killed near lake Aussa. The Khedive was naturally much troubled by the failure of his expedition and determined to avenge himself on the King of Abyssinia.

But, before speaking of the second war, it is necessary to allude to a man, who has since become a very important personage in the political relations between Egypt and Abyssinia. This is Walad el Michael, or as he is commonly called, Wadenkal, the hereditary chief of the provinces of Hamasen and Bogos, the scene of the struggles we are describing, who had fought against Johannes prior to the arrival of the Egyptians and had been imprisoned by him at Adowa, but was released to fight against the common enemy, the king believing he could rely on his assistance against a foreign foe. He seems to have remained faithful until after the defeat of Arakol Bey at Gundet, but was so enraged at the king taking from him the arms which had been plundered from the Egyptians that he again revolted and became an ally of the Khedive.

We shall have more to say of him hereafter, and will now return to the action taken by the Egyptians after the destruction of Arakol Bey's army.

In 1876, a force of 20,000 men, under the command of Prince Hassan, the Khedive's son, who was accompanied by Ratib Pasha, and General Loring, an American officer, was sent from Massowah into Abyssinia to avenge the losses which had been suffered in the preceding year, and to dictate terms to the King of Abyssinia. They were white troops, Egyptians, and were well equipped and supplied with artillery. They marched by the Kya Khor road, mounted the great Abyssinian plateau, and, advancing into the country, constructed two forts, a little to the north of Gura; Johannes, with a large army, being on their flank, in the Hamassen district. The forts appear to have been well built, and were armed with cannon. In March, 1876, the Abyssinians advanced, and marched between the forts, round which the Egyptian troops were encamped. It is said that Ratib Pasha wished to keep his men in the forts, but Loring made him go out to attack the enemy. The results of this manœuvre was most disastrous, as the Abyssinians gained a complete victory, killing or taking prisoners nearly all their opponents, and obtaining possession also of several guns, and many thousand rifles. Prince Hassan, Ratib Pasha, and Loring escaped, and succeeded in getting back into one of the forts. The Abyssinians then attacked the forts, and reached the ditch, but could not effect an entrance; so the king, seeing he could not take them, began negotiating. Prince Hassan wrote to say he would come to see him, but did not do so, having been recalled by the Khedive; however, Ali Bey, an Egyptian officer, had an interview with Johannes, when a truce was concluded, and the remnant of the Egyptian army retired to Massowah, the king sending an embassy to Cairo to settle terms of peace. When Ratib Pasha's army withdrew to Massowah, Wadenkal, who was now an open enemy of Johannes, retreated with 7,000 men to Bogos.

The Abyssinian ambassadors had instructions, among other matters, to say that Bogos might be held by Egypt, provided Wadenkal was given up to the king, and that this was a *sine qua non* of peace. As, however, the Khedive was unwilling to

accede to this demand, he would not receive the ambassadors, who were badly treated by the Egyptian officials, and were obliged, in December, 1876, to put themselves under the protection of the English Consul-General at Cairo. Finally, they were allowed to return to Abyssinia to King Johannes, who, it is not surprising, was very angry at the treatment they had received, and became more ill-disposed towards Egypt than ever; and all the more because Wadenkal, who professed to be an ally to Egypt, was making frequent incursions into the Abyssinian territory, harrying the people, and carrying off what portable property he could find.

This was the position of affairs when Gordon returned to Cairo from England in January, 1877. Towards the end of 1876 he had resigned the governorship of the White Nile districts, feeling that, notwithstanding his great personal exertions, it was quite impossible to do any permanent good in the country so long as the Soudan proper was under the command of an Egyptian, who did much to neutralise Gordon's efforts to civilise his province and to crush the slave-trade. This was Ismail Ayoub Pasha, a man of great energy in many ways, but one who could not be expected, from his religion and education, to take the least interest in, or to aid the work in which Col. Gordon was engaged. When the Khedive received his letter of resignation from Soudan he telegraphed to implore him to return, and undertook to meet his wishes in every possible way if only he would return to Egypt.

Colonel Gordon then went back to Cairo, where he saw the Khedive, and told him plainly his opinion of Ismail Ayoub, saying that he would on no account return to the Soudan so long as this Pasha was left at Khartoum. After a few days' deliberation His Highness yielded, Ismail Ayoub was dismissed, and Gordon himself was appointed Governor-General of the Soudan and Red Sea provinces, with the fullest powers. The nomination of a Christian and an Englishman to such an important post was a real *coup d'état*, and showed the great power the late Khedive wielded. It might also be quoted as a certain amount of proof that he had the interests of the country more at heart than some imagined.

The account of Colonel Gordon's con-

nection with the Soudan and his war against the slave traders will make a most interesting history, which, it is hoped, may some day be written, as it is at present known only to a few. Here, however, there is only room just to allude to it, and we must return to the affairs of Abyssinia.

When the Khedive appointed Gordon Governor-General of the Soudan he requested him, before proceeding to Khartoum, the capital of his new government, to go to Massowah and endeavour to make a peaceable arrangement with the King of Abyssinia. The English Consul-General also sent a letter to Johannes by his hand, urging the advisability of making peace with Egypt.

Colonel Gordon started on his mission without delay, and arrived at Massowah toward the end of February, 1877. He found the remainder of the Egyptian troops embarking to return to Cairo, as the Khedive was now sending a contingent to join the Sultan's army in Turkey, and Gordon was left with a small force, quite insufficient for any military operations. The situation was a difficult one. Wadenkal, although professedly an ally of Egypt, had disregarded Ratib Pasha's desire that he should cease his raids into Abyssinia, and continued the war against Johannes. A revolt had broken out in Darfur, on the west side of the Nile, and as the Egyptian garrisons there were reported to be completely surrounded, and in difficulties, it was of vital importance that the new Governor should proceed thither as rapidly as possible to put matters right. Time being therefore an object, he decided to go into Bogos and see Wadenkal, in the hope of persuading him to stop his incursions into the territory of Johannes. Wadenkal came to meet him, and after a good deal of discussion, he undertook to remain quiet and make no more attacks provided he was paid a certain amount of money, and was given corn to feed his troops. It was rather a hazardous negotiation, as the physical force was all on the side of Wadenkal.

Colonel Gordon then wrote to Johannes to say that he would not allow Wadenkal to harass his country, and offered terms of peace, proposing that the frontier should be traced so as to leave Bogos to Egypt. To this letter the king sent no reply for some months, but, apparently relying on the

promise that Wadenkal should be kept quiet, he went off to continue his war against Menelek, king of Shoa.

Having thus arranged matters temporarily on the Egyptian-Abyssinian frontier, Colonel Gordon proceeded rapidly to Khartoum, and, collecting some troops, marched across Darfur to relieve the beleaguered towns, and release the garrisons, which had been hemmed in for months, owing to the incapacity of the commanding officers. The revolt had been brought on in consequence of the Egyptian troops making slaves of the inhabitants, who turned upon them, killed 1,200, and captured two cannon. The Egyptians used their fire-arms so ineffectively that the natives despised them, and, for a time, had the best of the struggle. Gordon, by quick marches and vigorous action, suppressed the revolt and relieved the garrisons in about three months, when he had to turn his attention to another foe. This was Sulieman, son of Sebehr Pasha, who had advanced from the Bahr Gazelle with 8,000 or 10,000 armed slaves, and had formed a camp on the West of the White Nile at Shaka, whence he menaced the province. He was one of the principal slave-traders in the country, and it was absolutely necessary to get rid of this band of ruffians. Gordon's own force being too small to allow him to use force, he treated Sulieman and his followers diplomatically, and dispersed them by strength of will.

He then returned to Khartoum, and in August received an answer from the king of Abyssinia to his letter respecting peace. It ran as follows:—

"I have received your letter of March. I and my soldiers are well. I have destroyed him.* I have taken cattle. His wife deserted him. I have declared I would never write again to Mussulmans. You are a Christian. You are English. You are my brother. Ismael Pasha treated my envoys badly. Had not the English Consul-General rescued them Ismael would have killed them. I received his envoys with my crown on, and fired guns. With people without God one can never finish. God judge between me and Ismael. You, you others speak of the Abyssinian frontier as this or that. All the world knows the frontiers of Abyssinia."

* Menelek, king of Shoa.

Shortly after receiving this letter, Colonel Gordon was summoned to Cairo by the Khedive, but hearing that Wadenkal was falling into his old ways, and re-commencing his raids into Abyssinia, he went to Bogos in December, 1877, and found this troublesome ally in a furious state, and utterly careless of what the Egyptian authorities said to him. Gordon summoned him to his presence, but he refused to come, giving as an excuse that he was sick. There was no time for hesitation, so the Governor-General started off with ten soldiers to see the chief in his fortress of Halkal, a very strong position, Wadenkal had intended to take him prisoner, but gave up the idea, probably because he saw that he was not afraid of him. The whole of the 16th December was spent in discussion. Wadenkal tried to persuade Gordon to join him in attacking Adowa, the capital of Abyssinia, while the king was engaged in fighting Menelek, and the capture of this place would have been comparatively easy, as the greater part of the Abyssinian troops were on the side of Shoa. Gordon, on the other hand, endeavoured to induce Wadenkal to make terms with the king, as his present line of conduct only made matters worse between Egypt and Abyssinia. At last an arrangement was come to, by which the chief agreed to keep the peace with Abyssinia on condition that he received £700 in money and 500 ardebs* of corn for his followers. As the chance of his keeping to the agreement for any length of time was small, Gordon again wrote to the King, suggesting a treaty, and proposing that they should jointly take measures to suppress Wadenkal, whose action made it quite impossible to settle terms of peace. To this message the King sent no answer.

When the negotiations with Wadenkal were in progress, this chief expressed a great desire that Alamayou, the son of the late King Theodore—whom Lord Napier had brought to England for education, and who had died lately—might be sent out to Abyssinia as a rival to Johannes. The young prince was not forgotten in the country, and it is said that when Johannes was fighting Menelek, in 1878, a rumour spread that he was coming from England, which alarmed

* The ardeb is about five bushels.

the King so much that he made peace with Menelek.

In March, 1878, Wadenkal finally left the Egyptian territory and went into Abyssinia, where he fought with and defeated Ras Bariou, one of the King's generals, but did not march on Adowa, as he heard that Johannes and Menelek were reconciled. Long negotiations then commenced between the king and his unruly vassal, which ended in Wadenkal being pardoned and allowed to retain his arms.

Early in 1878, Colonel Gordon, returning from his visit to Bogos, received a pressing telegram from the Khedive, urging him to come down to Cairo without delay, because the creditors of Egypt were trying to interfere with his sovereign rights, and he knew no one else whom he could trust. Gordon started at once from Khartoum, and arrived in Cairo on the 7th March, 1878, where he was immediately appointed President of a Commission of Enquiry into the finances of Egypt. It is impossible here to discuss his connection with the finances of Egypt. Suffice it to say that he at once arrived at the conclusion that it was the interests of Egypt and the Egyptians that should be considered, and not the interests of the foreign bondholders. He therefore recommended that the payment of the May coupon should be suspended, in order to pay the Government employes who were many months in arrears, and to meet the pressing claims in the country, and that the rate of interest should be reduced to 4 per cent. But the foreign bondholders were powerful, the European powers did not support him, and the opportunity was lost. The Khedive gave way, Gordon was removed from the Commission, and quitted Cairo soon after. What the result would have been had his Highness remained firm is a curious but, perhaps, a profitless speculation. The past cannot be recalled.

On his departure from Cairo, Colonel Gordon went down the Red Sea to visit the coast provinces of Zeila, Berbera, and Harar, territories lying outside the Straits of Babel-Mandeb, which have been taken possession of by Egypt within the last few years. These provinces, although nominally under the Governor-General of the Soudan, were practically independent, on account of their distance from the seat of Government. The Somali tribes, who inhabit the country, do

not yet acknowledge the Egyptian rule, except round the town of Harar and at the seaports. Raouf Pasha, the governor of the district, had been guilty of cruelty to the people, and one object of Gordon's visit was to dismiss him from his post.

Having settled affairs at Harar, Colonel Gordon returned to Massowah, where he heard that Wadenkal had gone to Abyssinia, as we have already mentioned; thence he proceeded by way of Souakim to Khartoum, and remained there until March, 1879, employed with the affairs of his immense province. During this period the *emeute* took place in Cairo which led to the downfall of Nubar Pasha; but as it did not affect the Soudan, although Gordon was requested to come to Lower Egypt, he did not do so, believing that his presence was more essential in his own government, as the revolted slave traders were still giving trouble, and the Bahr Gazelle district was in a state of insurrection.

In January, 1879, Ras Ayra, an uncle of King Johannes, sent an envoy to Kedarif, on the western frontier of Abyssinia, with the following letter to Gordon:—

"By order of the king of kings, I send you an envoy. Treat him as my son, he knows the king's mind. The king will not talk with the Khedive of Egypt. You are the Sultan of Soudan, he will write to you. The king of kings, says, 'He and his armies stand on the frontier.'"

Colonel Gordon went up to Kedarif to meet the envoy, who it afterwards appeared had been sent by Ras Arya without authority from Johannes, and on his return to Khartoum, sent Winstanley, an Englishman, who had formerly served with him in China, to Johannes with presents, and a letter, again proposing peace, and suggesting that Bogos should be left in the possession of Egypt. Winstanley returned in August and brought a letter from Johannes of which the following is a literal copy of the English version, written by the king's interpreter:—

"From His Majesty Johannes, king of kings of Ethiopia to Gordon Pasha—

"My beloved friend, by the grace of God I and my people are well, the things which you presented me I have received by the hands of Winstandling. Velvat, 1 silver saddle, 2 golden dress, 5 yards red bannati, 2 read dress broad

hand, silver plate with 12 silver cups, out of them one is gold, one best gun with her cartridges, 1 good carpate.

"My friend, I am very thankful for your kindness which you did to me, I have told all my words, what is in my wishes he will tell you. I hope I will see you soon."

It will be observed that the king gave no answer in this letter to the question as to what terms of peace he would agree to. At the same time he sent a letter to Messrs. H. S. King & Co., his agents in London, in which he complained bitterly of the way he had been treated by Egypt, who, he said, had shut up the road to Massowah, and would not send him a bishop. This is one of the king's grievances, because the head of the church in Abyssinia has for many years been sent from the Coptic Church in Egypt, but since the war he has been unable to obtain one. At the same time he wrote a letter to Her Majesty the Queen, and one to Lord Napier.

Before Winstanley returned from his visit to Johannes, Colonel Gordon had again visited the Bahr Gazelle district, where his vakeel Gessi was engaged in suppressing the revolted slave traders. By July they were completely subdued, and Gordon returned through Darfur to Khartoum, where he heard of the great events that had occurred in Cairo, the deposition and banishment of the Khedive Ismael, and the accession of his son Tewfik. Being summoned to Egypt by the new Khedive, he came down at once and reached Cairo toward the end of August. He had been there but a few days when His Highness requested him to go to Massowah to make another effort to obtain a treaty of peace from the King of Abyssinia, but with instructions to cede nothing. He gave him letters to Johannes, announcing his accession to the throne of Egypt, and naming Colonel Gordon his envoy. The English and French Consuls-General also sent letters of a conciliatory nature to the king.

Arriving at Massowah on the 5th September, Gordon started into Abyssinia on the 11th, having heard before his departure that Ras Aboula, one of the king's generals, was close to the frontier, and that he had lately made Wadenkal and all his officers prisoners.

Being anxious to obtain an interview

with the king as soon as possible, in order to discuss the questions in dispute personally, he determined to go at once to meet Ras Aboula and tell him of his mission. Travelling by the Kya Khor road, he was met at the frontier by an officer of Ras Aboula, and conducted by him to Gura, the residence of the general, which was reached on the 17th September. The camp was placed on the top of a very steep hill, which could only be ascended on foot. On the summit the Abyssinian soldiers were drawn up in two lines, at the far end of which was a large hut made of the branches of trees, in which the general was seated, surrounded by a crowd of followers, all covered up to the eyes with white cloths, according to the Abyssinian fashion. Ras Aboula returned Gordon's salute, and then motioned him to sit on a chair beside him. Ten priests, seated in a row, glared angrily at the foreigner, who, although a Christian like themselves, did not belong to their church, and was therefore an object of contempt. Nothing was said for a long time, but at length the silence was broken by Gordon rising and presenting the letters from the Khedive to the king, which the Ras received without appearing to care much about, and laid on the pistol at his side. Then there was silence again until mead was brought in, which loosed the tongues of the Abyssinians, who began to talk more freely. Ras Aboula said that, although smoking was forbidden by the king, under the severest penalties, yet Gordon, as a foreign envoy, had permission to do so if he wished. He then asked whether he was not English, to which the Colonel replied that coming to Abyssinia as Governor-General of the Soudan, and as envoy from the Khedive, he must be regarded as Egyptian and not as an Englishman. Soon after the interview came to a close, it being arranged that he should be sent on at once to visit the king at Debra Tabor, and he started on the 19th September. A few days afterwards he passed the amba where Wadenkal was confined. These "ambas" or natural fortresses, are a most characteristic feature of the country. They are hills with tolerably level summits, and steep, in fact absolutely precipitous, sides, from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet in height. They are generally well supplied with water, and would be very

difficult to capture, as there is usually only one entrance, and in some cases the only means of access is by a rope and basket. They are used as prisons as well as fortresses.

On the 27th October, after nearly six weeks travelling over a road which the king himself allowed was one of the worst in the country, Colonel Gordon arrived at Debra Tabor, and was admitted to an audience with the king.

Johannes was seated on a raised dais, Itagé his chief priest, and Ras Arya, his uncle, were with him. His appearance was decidedly unprepossessing. He was a man apparently about forty-five years of age, with a sour ill-looking face, and with eyes that never looked straight at the person to whom he was speaking; he never smiled, and seemed to suspect everyone. Colonel Gordon presented his letters, and some guns were fired, which the king told him were in his honour. He was then told he might retire for the present, and was conducted to a hut which the king had had prepared for him.

He found that the Greek Consul of Suez was at Debra Tabor, and also some Italians, one of whom had been with Johannes for more than eight years. The night after Gordon's arrival, some Egyptian soldiers, who had been taken prisoners at the disastrous fights of Gundet and Gura, came to him and begged he would ask the king to release them.

The following day, Johannes asked him to come to see him again at dawn. Ras Arya was with him, but was made to withdraw, as the king said he wished to see Gordon alone, when, he related his grievances against Egypt, a man named Madrigal acting as interpreter. The king then said, "What have you come for?"

"Have you read the letters from his highness the Khedive?"

The king replied "No," and ordered them to be brought and translated, the chief clerk receiving forty blows for not having done so before. With the letters were those from the English and French Consuls-General at Cairo, about which his majesty appeared to care little. After the letters had been translated and read to the king, he said—"You want peace, and I want you to give back Bogos, Methemmeh, and Changallas, to give me the ports of

Zulla and Amphilla, an archbishop and a sum of money; but if the Khedive will not give the money, I will take Bogos, Mas-sowah, and the archbishop. I could claim Dongloa, Berber, Nubia, and Sennaar, but will not do so; I also want certain territory near Harar." His geographical notions about this district seemed a little hazy, and he said he would waive that claim for the present. Colonel Gordon replied: "This is the first time, after three years continued efforts, that Egypt has been able to learn what your majesty wants."

The King: "How could I trust you?"

Colonel Gordon: "There was no question of trust in letting Egypt know what your majesty wanted. Will your majesty write out these demands, seal them, and then give his highness the Khedive six months to reply?"

The King: "I will do so; but I am going to some hot baths, two days' journey from here. Come with me."

Colonel Gordon: "I have been away from my own Government for many days, and his highness must know at once of your majesty's demands. No good can result from my going with you. If these demands are not granted, what will your majesty do?"

The King: "I shall then know that you hate me, and I shall fight you. Will Egypt fight with me?"

Colonel Gordon: "That is for the Khedive to answer, not for me; but I do not think your demands will be granted."

The King: "Will Egypt fight me, with Christians or Mussulman soldiers?"

Colonel Gordon: "I do not know; but if he fights you it will probably be with soldiers from the Soudan."

The King: "I do not know whether I shall fight. I do not intend to cross over the frontier, but you will never stay behind your frontier. You will come over it, and then I shall fight you. Come to the baths, and I will think about the letter, or wait here until I return from the baths."

Colonel Gordon then asked that the Egyptian soldiers might be liberated, but the king said that he would not let them go, as they preferred stopping with him. He went to the baths that day, and did not return until the 6th November. During the interval nothing particular occurred, but Gordon learned a good deal about the

politics of Abyssinia, and was convinced that the king had been instigated to make the claims by persons at his court, who had persuaded him that he had only to ask in order to obtain.

When Johannes returned on the 6th November, it appeared that he had not yet written the letter stating his demands. The following day the chief priest informed Gordon that the king wished to moderate his claims, and would give the letter on the morrow. Considerable efforts had been made by the king to detach Colonel Gordon from his allegiance to the Khedive, and he had represented to him that he, being a Christian and an Englishman, ought rather to be friendly to a Christian monarch than to the Khedive, who was an infidel, but it is hardly necessary to say that the attempt was not successful. Gordon's instructions as to the non-retrocession of Bogos were distinct, and all he would promise to the king was that he would ask the Khedive to send the archbishop, and to grant free import of goods and letters at Massowah.

On the 8th November Gordon had his final interview with Johannes, who was in a very bad temper and did not want to talk. The Greek Consul of Suez was also present.

The king said: "Have you anything more to say?"

Gordon replied, "No."

The king then said: "Go back to your master. I will send you the letter."

Gordon asked: "Will you give me back the Egyptian soldiers whom you have prisoners?"

Johannes became very angry, and exclaimed: "Why do you ask me this? You keep many of my subjects prisoners."

Gordon answered "No; every one is free. Ask the consul."

The consul was silent, and the king closed the interview by saying: "I have written one letter, and I will write another about the matter. Go."

An hour afterwards Colonel Gordon received the letter and started for Khartoum by way of Galabat. Suspecting that there was something wrong about it, he opened the letter from the king to the Khedive at the first halting place, and had it translated, being justified in doing so as the vakeel of the Khedive. It ran as follows:—

"May the letter of the Elect of God, Jo-

hannes, King of Sion, King of Kings of Ethiopia, come to Mohammed Tewfik.

"How art thou this week? By the blessing of God I and my soldiers are well. The letter thou hast sent has reached me. And it is to make peace that thou hast sent me a letter by that man. After having robbed me, you fought against me, without the knowledge of the kings, but the kings will know of it. And now, dost thou want us to make peace in secret, like robbers? How canst thou speak of peace when you impede the merchants and stop the people of the country. The kings will learn my conduct and yours.

"Written at Senna, the 29th October,* 1879."

This letter presented a contrast to that which had been sent by the Khedive, which was written in courteous language, expressing regret for the past, and hoping that the old friendship between Egypt and Abyssinia might be restored.

Colonel Gordon, anxious to leave nothing undone in the interests of peace, wrote back to the Greek consul to ask if he could ascertain why the king had written this letter in place of the one containing his demands, which he had promised to send, and was informed in reply that the king had been spoken to about the letter, and had answered that he had written to the Khedive as he had thought proper, and that he would write other letters if it appeared necessary in the interests of his state.

After this it was clear that no good was to be gained by further parley, so Gordon proceeded towards Galabat. Ras Arya met him at his own village on the north of Lake Tzana, and sent troops with him to Chelga, where they left him, fearing a revolted chief, by name Gadassi, who had taken up a position on the road, and attacked all the king's troops. Gordon, however, went on to Zar Amba, the "gate of Abyssinia," whence he could see right down into the plains of Soudan, and sent orders to Galabat for 200 of his own soldiers to come and meet him. While waiting for them, a body of Ras Arya's men followed him and took him prisoner, having received orders to bring him back to their chief. In three days they reached his village, and Gordon sent to ask Ras Arya to come to him. He said he was

* Old style.

unable to do so, as he had taken medicine, but asked that the interpreter might be sent to him, and said that, for a consideration, he would send a message to Galabat, notwithstanding the king's orders to the contrary. When the interpreter returned, he said that Ras Arya had told him that the king was a thoroughly bad man, and was ruining the country, and that he had added, "Why do not the Egyptians take the country? Nothing could be easier. Everyone is angry with the king, and he treats me like a dog. When I asked him for some of the presents Gordon had brought, he refused to give any, and he turned me out of the room when Gordon came. I will not obey his order to cut off all communication with Galabat." He then told the interpreter that the king had given strict orders that Gordon was to return to Egypt by Massowah, and was not to be allowed to go to the Soudan.

The following day Colonel Gordon had an interview with Ras Arya, who made him promise to be kind to his son, Kassai, and then sent him on to Gondar, which he passed through on the 18th November. The Abyssinian soldiers who accompanied him were very troublesome, and were only kept quiet by presents until he reached the district belonging to Ras Garamudhiri, who was on bad terms with the king, and enabled Gordon to make rapid marches to Azum. It was very cold weather, and the mountains were covered with snow, so that travelling was not over-pleasant, especially as he had no tents. At Azum a sister of the king sent him food, and abused her brother for the way he had acted. Moving on towards Adowa, Gordon found that Ras Aboula, who has been already mentioned, had been displaced from his command, and that Ras Arya Selassi, a son of Johannes, though only about thirteen years of age, had been put in his place. The lad sent his salutations, and said that he also disapproved of the king's behaviour. Leaving Adowa, Gordon went on to Massowah by the Kya Khor road, and was again arrested by the king's troops. He made his way through with some difficulty, and reached Massowah on the 8th December, where his people were rejoiced to see him back in safety, as they feared he had fallen a victim to the tyrant of Abyssinia. Rumours to this effect had found their way into the European papers.

Colonel Gordon thence returned to Cairo to report the result of his mission, and during his stay there he resigned the Governorship of the Soudan, and came to England.

Thus his efforts to establish peace between Abyssinia and Egypt were unsuccessful, and it could hardly have been otherwise, considering the elements of the problem. On the one side was Johannes, an ignorant and cruel man, whose government is the most absolute despotism conceivable, and who believed that he had real grievances against Egypt. On the other hand was Colonel Gordon, an Englishman, but a faithful servant of the Khedive, and therefore an Egyptian so far as Johannes was concerned, who had orders not to yield the very points which the king had set his mind on having granted. What chance was there of an agreement between them?

Up to the time of their interview it is very probable that Johannes, knowing that Gordon was a Christian and an Englishman, being himself also a Christian, and remembering the treatment he had received from Lord Napier, and the courteous letter Her Majesty the Queen had sent him, had hoped to have drawn Gordon over to support him against the Khedive. Disappointed in this expectation, he became furious, and insulted the envoy as far as he dared.

And now, by way of conclusion, it may be of some interest to consider the present state of the relations between Egypt and Abyssinia. As matters now stand, there can be no peace; and although there *may* be no war, yet the possibility that Johannes might make a descent upon Egyptian territory renders it necessary to keep up large garrisons on the frontier at a great expense, which, it is needless to remark, the Khedive can ill afford. It would be comparatively easy to cut off the Egyptian garrison at Senheit, in Bogos, and not easy to succour it, on account of the mountainous nature of the country; but it would be difficult for the king to capture Massowah or any other point on the coast. Egypt, on the other hand, would be foolish if she were again to attempt an invasion of Abyssinia, but she could do it considerable injury by taking possession of the salt plains near Massowah whence is obtained the greater portion of the salt which passes for currency in the country, and it would also be possible to

diminish the power of the king by exciting revolt among the great men of Abyssinia, many of whom hate him and are opposed to his actions.

Johannes demands a port and the restoration of Bogos. Should the European powers interfere to get Egypt to grant his demands for the sake of peace, and to save the present large expenditure of Egyptian money for the frontier garrisons? As regards Bogos, a comparison of all the facts of the case makes it pretty clear that Egypt has no right to it whatever, beyond the right of conquest, and there is no valid reason why it should not be restored to Abyssinia.

But the cession of a port to Johannes is quite a different matter. What he really wants is to have the right of free import of arms and ammunition, which would doubtless be used for the purpose of making raids on Egyptian territory, to the discomfort of the inhabitants and the sorrow of the foreign bondholders. Besides, the notions of the king as to how he would work a port are decidedly obscure. He would most probably have to send for Europeans to do it for him, who must either be adventurers or else accredited by some Government. In the former case, the port would soon become the most troublesome place in the Red Sea, and in the latter, it would practically fall into the hands of the Government who had sent the officers to take charge of it, and who, sooner or later, would be drawn into interfering with the internal affairs of Abyssinia. It would not be surprising if this should occur in the case of Italy, who has established herself at Asab, a port a little to the north of the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, for commercial purposes, whence she will very probably push inwards.

Perhaps the best solution of the matter would be for Egypt to restore Bogos to Abyssinia, allow free import and export of goods, but not of arms or ammunition, and gratify the king's desire to have an archbishop. It would appear, on the whole, better for England to allow Egypt and Abyssinia to settle their differences by themselves, unless she were prepared to intervene to a far greater extent than our Government seems inclined to do at present. Whatever happens, it will be interesting to note the next scene in the Egyptian-Abyssinian drama. — C. M. W. — *The Royal Engineer Journal*.

LADIES' NEGRO'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

THE fifty-fifth annual meeting of this society was held on Friday at the residence of Mrs. J. Sturge, Edgbaston, the Rev. W. CLARKSON presiding. Amongst the numerous company present were the Rev. F. B. Brown and T. H. Clark (of Jamaica); Mesdames Clark, Sturge, Avery, Southall, Gibbins, Tyndall, J. Cadbury, J. Chance, E. Sargant, Gore; Miss Metford, and Miss Barker. The annual report, read by Mrs. STURGE, after giving a detailed account of the work of the society, especially in the the West Indies, stated that as regarded the financial state of the society the sum set apart for contingencies was nearly all gone, and consequently an increase to the subscriptions was very desirable. They would all rejoice in the announcement in the Queen's Speech of a treaty concluded with Turkey for the suppression of the slave-trade, if there was a prospect of its being fulfilled, but the testimony of the Consuls and missionaries forbade that expectation. The statement of accounts showed that the subscriptions had amounted to £183 15s. in 1879.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the report, said he had been much struck at the very great advancement made in the objects upon which this society had set its heart. That advancement might be measured, not only by the achievements that could be recorded, but also by the change of public opinion in reference to the work they had on hand. They would see that not only had an advancement been made in the fact that slavery had been abolished throughout the British dominion, but in the fact that the whole attitude of the Church had been changed towards its, and now it was deemed one of the greatest sins that one should have anything to do with the encouragement of slavery. It would seem as if the work of a society like the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society were almost done. They had yet, however, to do a great work in trying to train those emancipated negroes. They had still to work hard before they could welcome the day when throughout the whole earth all men should be free.

The Rev. F. Brown, in seconding the motion, said that the Anti-Slavery Society did not consider its work complete, and

would not until slavery was abolished throughout not only the British dominion, but throughout the world. The object of the Ladies' Negro's Friend Societies was to remove ignorance from the mind, and free the souls of the emancipated slaves. In the report which was adopted, there were brief but important notices of the difficulties encountered by the different Missionary Associations in Africa, from the relentless operations of the slave-trades. Testimony was rendered to the honesty of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the energy of Dr. Kirk, our Consul, in suppressing the slave-trade as far as their influence extends. Were the Portuguese equally earnest in their jurisdiction, more effectual check might be given to the terrible outrages so long perpetrated on the African tribes. Col. Gordon's successful dealings with the slave-traders in the Soudan, were emphatically recognised, and fears expressed of the consequences resulting from his resignation of the post he held from the late Khedive, of Egypt.

The report was adopted.

The Rev. T. H. CLARK said, "The missions in the West Indies were greatly cheered and encouraged by the help and sympathy of those at home, and the work in the Colonies was intimately connected with the glory and best interests of England. Since he had begun his labours in Jamaica, forty years ago, he had witnessed a great change for the better in the condition of a race that had been so oppressed and down-trodden by our forefathers. In some measure the change was by the work of the Negro's Friend Societies, both for the pecuniary aid and the sympathy they had afforded. The schools established by the mission were all denominational, they had no catechism, but the Bible was read daily without note or comment." On their return to Jamaica, Mr. and Mrs. Clark fully intend, if possible, to establish a girls' school; for it is seen by all interested in Jamaica, how indispensably an improving education for the women of the island is required.

INDIAN ELEPHANTS IN AFRICA.

DR. DUTRIEUX, who was one of the Belgian Exploring Expedition to Central Africa, and was obliged, through ill-health, to return home a few months ago, has been

lecturing at Brussels and Antwerp, giving some useful hints to those who are willing and able to take advantage of the outlet now so opportunely offered to European trade.

Referring to his experiences in Africa, Dr. Dutrieux spoke of the experiment which has been made with Indian elephants, and of the probability of being equally successful in taming and training the native breed. An elephant will carry as much as twenty-three men, a mule or ox as much as four, and an ass as much as two men; and he sees no reason why all should not be employed, according as circumstances may direct, provided that there are tracks prepared for them. The fact that of these the elephant alone escapes the deadly sting of the tsetse need not, perhaps, be an insuperable objection to the employment of the others, for it appears that this venomous insect does not attack them all indiscriminately, or with the same fatal effects, nor do those that fall victims to it die immediately, sometimes, indeed, not for months afterwards. There are other causes of mortality by which the elephants will be equally affected, such as malaria (more active in certain times of the year), bad food, over-fatigue, and the negligence of the negroes who have charge of the animals. Waggon drawn by oxen have been tried, and have failed through the want of roads, and until roads are made travelling must be tedious, costly, and can only be accomplished by dint of overcoming difficulties. They must also be rendered safe, for the beaten tracks are those that offer the greatest inducements to marauders and pillagers. The negroes, from whose dependence explorers are endeavouring to free themselves, are insubordinate and quarrelsome, besides being costly; and it is the more desirable to be able to dispense with their troublesome services as, being the only Africans who will work, they will be wanted as agricultural labourers. The Onanyamouesis, now employed with the Zanzibarites as porters, are the Chinese of Africa, and may be counted upon to form the basis of a class of free labourers, to be recruited by the importation of Chinamen, or, if preferred, as Dr. Dutrieux thinks they ought to be, of Hindoos from Western India, whose sobriety, industry, and frugality make them particularly fitted for the purpose.

The Zanzibarites, nearly all originally slaves, have remained attached to their masters, and the Arab slave dealers still exercise great influence over them, an influence by no means favourable to the interests of their European employers. Having been slaves themselves, their ideal is to have slaves of their own. At Tabora Dr. Dutrieux heard one of them lamenting the fate of his master, who, still pursuing under the rose his trade as slave dealer, had had a number of slaves seized. "My poor master, what a loss! to think that he has had a whole chain of slaves taken from him." The slave-trade having been suppressed on the Zanzibar coast, ivory having become scarce, and the *hongos* (or passage dues) having of late been greatly reduced, the Arabs find their profits considerably diminished, and are giving up trade and turning their attention to agriculture. The native chiefs are now the great slave-dealers. The Arabs are only go-betweens. The slave-trade is still actively carried on between Onanyamouisi and Onagogo, where women are to this day exchanged for oxen. The Protestant missionaries must exercise a beneficial influence by the example of their domestic virtues, and by showing with what respect European women are treated. In this respect the Africans have certainly much to learn; for with them woman is synonymous with slave. Among the Onanyamouesis and other tribes it is regarded as most improper for a mother-in-law to speak to her daughter's husband, or even to look at him. When she has anything to communicate she turns her back to him, and addresses him through a third party.

Dr. Dutrieux cannot speak in terms of too high praise of the noble work done in Egypt by Gordon Pasha, "the Bayard of explorers and the Carnot of organisers in Africa," thanks to whose persevering labours the ascent of the Nile has been made easy, expeditious, and perfectly safe. Dr. Dutrieux advocates the neutralisation of the Nile as well as of the mouth of the Congo, and proposes that the guardianship of their neutrality should be committed to Belgium.—*Globe*, May 10.

THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION. — "More than 600 slaves have been received, clothed, and fed by the mission."—*Report for 1878*.

SPAIN AND CUBA.

THERE is little fresh to report on this topic, but it will have been seen that there is a very strong feeling against the existing Cabinet in Madrid. Whether the Opposition will succeed in effecting a change of Ministry is doubtful.

In reply to a question put in the House of Commons respecting SLAVERY IN CUBA, by Mr. T. Fry (for Mr. A. Pease—unavoidably absent owing to domestic affliction), Sir C. Dilke said:—"If the hon. member will refer to the papers presented last year he will find that they include the correspondence on the subject of slavery in Cuba down to August last. Since that date Spain has passed a law providing for the abolition of slavery in Cuba. A copy of the law, with some further correspondence, will be laid on the table very shortly."

The effect of this answer was to give rise to a belief that slavery had really been abolished in Cuba. This belief was further strengthened by an article which appeared in an evening cotemporary rejoicing over the downfall of slavery in all the Spanish possessions, and stating that Turkey alone of all the European nations now retained that iniquitous institution!

The Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, drew up the short statement annexed, to show that at present there is little chance that the condition of the unfortunate slave in Cuba has been ameliorated by the passing of the Act of Emancipation, since the change in his condition is one in name only. A copy of the Act in Spanish can be seen at the offices of this Society.

We wish we could report more favourably of this measure, and shall be glad if the papers promised by Sir C. Dilke show that some improvement has been made in some of its clauses.

(To the Editor of the *Echo*.)

SIR,—I regret to have to state that the satisfaction expressed in your journal of yesterday's date with the Act passed by the Spanish Congress for the abolition of slavery in Cuba is not fully shared by those who have examined its clauses. Although that Act declares that slavery shall cease in the Island of Cuba from the date of promulgation, it provides that the enslaved shall enter upon what is called a term of enforced "patronage" for a period of eight years, during which time the owner or patron

can sell or transfer the "patrocinado" exactly as he could when he was called a slave.

At the termination of the eight years of "patronage" the "patrocinado" is bound to give security that he can maintain himself for a further term of four years. Should he not be able to do this, he will be treated as a "vagrant," and either set to work on the public roads or drafted into the army.

During the eight years of "patronage" the so-called emancipated labourer will be under "martial law"! What this means in a Spanish colony I leave your readers to judge.

Moreover, whereas by the Moret Law of 1870 all children born of slaves are declared to be free, by this new law children born before or after the date of its promulgation are obliged to serve the same term as their parents. Can this be called emancipation?

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHARLES H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

THE ORIGIN OF SLAVERY.

A CORRESPONDENT has kindly sent us a few thoughts on the origin of slavery. They may be usefully pondered by us all at the present time.

Clarkson's "History of the Slave-Trade" is now an old book, and does not appear on the railway bookstalls. Possibly the rage for painful excitement might derive from its pages more wholesome gratification than is found in some popular modern books. The subject is far from exhausted; but our present object is to call attention to an introductory chapter, which, like most prefaces, is too often passed over.

While the Anti-Slavery Society is appealing to public humanity on behalf of the victims of slavery, we would desire to call upon every individual to consider what is the real origin of this gigantic evil. Why do men, make, buy and sell, or keep slaves? Why do any wish to do so? The wish is father to the thought and the deed.

Another old Book tells us the origin of a kindred abomination, and the same origin is common to both. "Come they not of men's lusts?" In patriarchal times the bondman was often, perhaps generally, in the position of a child or apprentice,

and this possible and theoretical view of slavery may be some excuse for the many good men who, in times of ignorance, opposed the abolition of slavery. But slavery in its historical and cruel forms was the result, first of wars and fightings, and afterwards of the still wider lust of avarice and sensuality. These are its present origin and support. The evil has not a single redeeming virtue. War, and the slavery which was its triumph, had the glory derived from valour, *quantum valeat*. Conquerors had at least the merit of courage and military skill, and mortal battles may be looked upon as representative of the spiritual battles which must be fought by every man against the inward "foes of his own household." But modern slavery and the slave-trade at present existing have no connection with even the lowest selfish form of patriotism. They are selfishness and sensuality incorporate, ministering only to the vilest lusts, avarice, and animal indulgence.

To "make money" and to lead an easy luxurious life of carnal pleasure, are the aims of the supporters of slavery, and the system will linger, in some shape or other, so long as men regard labour as a curse, and prefer making others serve them to being themselves the servants of others.

The origin of slavery is the setting up of self-love above the love of God and the neighbour. If the Gospel law, the Golden Rule, were kept, there could be no slavery. The truth would make all free. The highest honour would be to serve; for the Great Master was Himself as he that serveth. The greatest happiness would be to minister to the happiness of others; for the angels are themselves such ministering spirits. If that is the happiness of Heaven it must be the true happiness of all who are preparing for heaven; if there be no delight in serving here, there will be no delight in it hereafter. If the Lord be not freely served in this life, His service will never be found to be "perfect freedom." It is therefore in the hearts and minds of Christian men and women that the abolition of slavery must be first effected. The evil lusts in which slavery originates must be subdued, and to that end mankind must be

taught to *cease to do evil, and learn to do well*. The Truth as it is in Jesus, the Divine teacher, must be taught in all its fulness, and that *Truth will make you free*.

T. C.

Obituary Notice.

WE deeply regret to have to record the decease of EDWARD PEASE, Esq., of Darlington, which took place on the 13th instant, at Lucerne.

Mr. Pease died in the prime of life, not having attained his 46th year. But, though his life was comparatively short, his labours on behalf of his fellow-men were abundant, and steadily maintained. Like his honoured father, the late Joseph Pease, and the various members of the noble family of which he formed a part, he was a liberal supporter of the Anti-slavery cause, and of the many philanthropic objects of the day. He took a special interest in the suppression of the infamous Opium traffic carried on by the Government of this country with China, and to him its present prominent position in the public mind is mainly due.

Possessing a delicate constitution, he could feel for those who suffer from ill-health, and are unable to procure the assistance they so greatly need.

One of the late acts of his valuable and well-spent life was the founding of a comfortable home at the seaside for invalids. We mourn his loss, although we are deeply sensible that he has left a very precious memory behind him.

Books Received.

"THE CHANNING CENTENARY." 1880.

"WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND HIS TIMES," By Oliver Johnson—with introduction by John G. Whittier. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, &c. London: Trübner & Co.

"REMINISCENCES OF LEVI COFFIN." London: Sampson Low & Co.

"A FOOL'S ERRAND, BY ONE OF THE FOOLS." London: Sampson Low & Co.

"ARCHIVOS DO MUSEU NACIONAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO," 2 vols.

HAYDON'S PICTURE.

THIS interesting picture of the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 has now been thoroughly restored and cleaned, under the personal supervision of Mr. George Scharf, F.S.A., Secretary and Curator at the National Portrait Gallery, South Kensington, where it is on view, free to the public, every day except Fridays.

We publish herewith a list of contributions received towards the Haydon Picture Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Edward Backhouse	10	0	0
Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. ...	5	0	0
Arthur Pease, M.P.	5	0	0
Edward Pease	5	0	0
Stafford Allen	5	0	0
J. G. Barclay	5	0	0
J. E. Wilson	5	0	0
James Cropper	3	0	0
T. Fowell Buxton	3	0	0
W. H. Leatham, M.P.	2	2	0
M. McInnes	2	2	0
S. Rosling	2	2	0
F. Wheeler	2	0	0
Miss M. J. Smith	2	0	0
Miss M. Smith	2	0	0
H. J. Wilson	1	0	0
J. Marriage	1	0	0
	£60	6	0

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

OUR readers will be interested in learning that the long-vexed question of the outlet from Lake Tanganyika has at last been satisfactorily solved. It may be remembered that Livingstone, Cameron and Stanley were all alike puzzled as to whether the Lukuga river flowed *into* the lake or went *out* from it. Cameron strongly held to the opinion that it ran from the lake, but owing to the tangled mass of vegetation that accumulated at its mouth he was unable to obtain any satisfactory proof. Mr. J. Thomson, who took command of the Royal Geographical Society's expedition on the lamented death of his chief, Mr. Keith Johnstone, recently made the journey from Lake Nyassa to Tanganyika, and then explored the Western Coast of the latter lake. He has been fortunate enough to solve the problem so long held in dispute, and thus writes from Ujiji, on the 12th of January, 1880:—

"Early on the morning of Christmas-day, from the top of a high ridge, I had the pleasure of seeing the Lukuga, as a noble river flowing with rapid movement and whirling eddy away to the far west, unchecked by sandbars or papyrus, and requiring no experiments with straws or other objects to ascertain the existence of a current. Crossing the river, and camping my men at a village called Manda, I took a canoe and proceeded to examine the barrier laid down in Stanley's map. Owing to the strength of the current we had to keep close to the side. At one or two places where the river narrowed the canoe-men almost lost command of the canoe, and it was only by doubling their fee that I could persuade them to go as far as the place where the barrier existed.

"At this place the river narrows to about half its breadth, and rushes through with all the force and noise of a mountain torrent, utterly impassable for any canoe or boat of any description,

"The barrier of sand and papyrus was swept away either two or three years ago, the waters of the lake having been rising till that time; since then there has been a fall of seven feet, according to the observations of Mr. Hore, at Ujiji, who was also the first to see the Lukuga as an indisputable river. The following day (the 26th) I arrived at Kasenge, where I was most hospitably received by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society's Station. A few days later I arrived at Ujiji, where I received a similar reception."

Owing to press of matter the Subscription List is unavoidably crowded out this issue.

SUGGESTED FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE SOCIETY.

"I give to the TREASURER for the time being, or to the person for the time being acting as such, of THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and whose receipt I direct shall be a sufficient discharge for the same, the sum of £ sterling [free of Legacy Duty], to be applied for the general purposes of the said Society, to be fully paid out of such part of my personal estate as is legally applicable to such purpose."

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF **PHILIP PEARSALL CARPENTER,**

B.A. Lond., Ph.D. New York:

CHIEFLY DERIVED FROM HIS LETTERS.

EDITED BY HIS BROTHER, RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, B.A.

London: C. KEGAN PAUL & Co., Paternoster Row, 1880.

With PORTRAIT and VIGNETTES, Price 7s. 6d.

The first edition having been disposed of, it is proposed to publish a second edition, and, through the generosity of the Editor, a certain number of copies have been placed at the disposal of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the benefit of the funds of that Society. The price to subscribers will be Five Shillings only, and the same may be remitted (with Postage, 6d.) to Mr. C. H. ALLEN, Secretary, 55, New Broad Street, who will forward a copy of the work by post.

LONDON: Printed by BARNETT, SONS & Co., Crown Works, 21, Seething Lane, and published at the Offices of the Society, 55, New Broad Street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London.—JULY, 1880.

COLONEL GORDON, R.E., C.B.,

AND THE

SLAVE TRADE

IN

EGYPT, THE SOUDAN, AND

EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

LONDON:
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
55, NEW BROAD STREET.

—
1880.

By kind permission of Colonel Gordon, C.B., we are enabled to print a sketch of the past and present condition of the countries of Central Africa, whence slaves are obtained, together with a few particulars of the excellent work carried on by him in those regions for the suppression of the Slave Trade, most of which are taken from the descriptions given by Colonel Gordon himself, in letters addressed to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

We fully endorse what Colonel Gordon has said upon this subject, and join with him in urging upon Her Majesty's Government to appoint a Consul-General for the Soudan with a roving commission and headquarters at Khartoum, and another Consul for the African ports of the Red Sea.

On behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

JOSEPH COOPER, }
EDMUND STURGE, } *Hon. Secs.*

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

55, NEW BROAD STREET,
May, 1880.

The Slave Trade in Egypt, the Soudan and Equatorial Africa.

"TOWARDS the end of 1876 Colonel Gordon had resigned the governorship of the White Nile districts, feeling that notwithstanding his great personal exertions, it was quite impossible to do any permanent good in the country so long as the Soudan proper was under the command of an Egyptian who did much to neutralise Gordon's efforts to civilise his province, and to crush the slave-trade. This was Ismail Ayoub Pacha, a man of great energy in many ways, but one who would not be expected from his religion and education to take the least interest in, or to aid the work in which Colonel Gordon was engaged. When the Khedive received Gordon's resignation he telegraphed to implore him to return, and undertook to meet his wishes in every possible way if only he would return to Egypt.

"Colonel Gordon then went back to Cairo, where he saw the Khedive, and told him plainly his opinion of Ismail Ayoub, saying that he would on no account return to the Soudan so long as this Pacha was left at Khartoum. After a few days' deliberation His Highness yielded, Ismail Ayoub was dismissed, and Gordon himself was appointed Governor-General of the Soudan and Red Sea Provinces, with the fullest powers. The nomination of a Christian and an Englishman to such an important post was a real *coup d'état*, and showed the great power wielded by the late Khedive. It might almost be quoted as a certain amount of proof that he had the interests of the country more at heart than some imagined.

"The account of Colonel Gordon's connection with the Soudan and his war against the Slave-traders will make a most interesting

history, which, it is hoped, may be some day written, as it is at present known only to a few."—*The Royal Engineer Journal*, 1st May, 1880.

We trust that the history of Colonel Gordon's great work in the Soudan will be published, and in the meanwhile we reproduce a sketch drawn up by himself and forwarded to the Anti-Slavery Society since his resignation, together with his views as to the proper steps to be taken to defeat the machinations of the Slave dealers, now that his power to repress them has been withdrawn.

"You are, no doubt, aware that in the year 1856 or 1857 several Europeans pushed up towards the Equator from Kartoum, and established stations in the Bahr Gazelle district, for the purchase of ivory from the negro tribes, and that these Europeans had under them escorts of the Soudan population to protect these establishments, Over these establishments the Europeans placed natives as their agents. As these establishments grew in size the European supervision over them grew less severe, and the native agents began to see that getting slaves was more profitable for them than getting ivory for their European masters. Having arms and ammunition through the interest of the Europeans, these natives soon opened such a trade in slaves that the scandal became too great, and the Europeans left the concern, and handed over, for payment, their rights to their vakeels or agents. These vakeels or agents entered into engagements with the Soudan Government to pay so much a year as rent for these establishments, and were further allowed to buy arms and ammunition from the Soudan arsenals. Then arose the state of things which is most graphically described in Baker's 'Albert Nyanza.'

"The Soudan Government began to see that their power over these establishments was lessening day by day, and they

determined to try and bring them under subjection ; accordingly, when Sir S. Baker went up in 1869 to govern the districts south of 5° N. latitude, Ismail Pacha, the ex-Khedive, sent up an expedition to the head-quarters of these establishments in Bahr Gazelle. The most powerful of the agents of these establishments was a man who had been employed by the Europeans, and was known by the name of Sebehr Rahama. Of course, neither he nor his colleagues wished to have any Government interference with them. Accordingly Sebehr, seeking some pretext, fell out with the commander of the Khedive's troops, and, attacking him, killed him and all the troops.—*Vide* Schweinfurth's 'Heart of Africa.' Appendix, 'Sebehr.'

"Sebehr was thus in open hostility to the Government, and the Government could not see how they could get at him at Bahr Gazelle without a great campaign. Sebehr, on his part, wrote all excuses for his action, and the matter slept ; but the ex-Khedive saw that things were getting serious, for Sebehr, seeing his power, began to move down towards Darfour. The Khedive, seeing that unless he co-operated in the annexation of Darfour, Sebehr would conquer it on his own account, determined to aid in this annexation, and accordingly Sebehr and his troops and the Khedival troops conquered Darfour. Sebehr, falling out with the commander of the Khedive's troops, and thinking he was all powerful with his money, appealed to the Khedive, and applied for leave to come to Cairo. This was granted him, and Sebehr left, having agreed with his people to revolt against the Government on receiving his orders to that effect.

"The slave dealers remained quiet in Bahr Gazelle, waiting orders from Sebehr. Of course Sebehr was retained at Cairo, but he was still a power, for, with the sole exception of the Ex-Khedive, he had the Pachas with him, as well as the people of the land.

"A revolt in Darfour in 1877 brought me in contact with these people of Sebehr, and I managed to detach some of the chiefs from the others.

"I sent up troops to Bahr Gazelle, and nominally the slave

dealers accepted the Government Rule. However, in May, 1878, Sebehr (seeing he was not likely to return, unless something was done), wrote and ordered the revolt.

"The slave dealers rose under Sebehr's son 'Souleyman,' and killed the Khedival troops, and captured all the ammunition and two cannon, and declared their independence, until Sebehr was given back to them. I sent up Gessi Pacha, in August, 1878, but till January, 1879, he was delayed through the high floods; he came near the slave dealers' hold on 1st January, 1879. The slave dealers, who had 8,000 or 9,000 troops, attacked Gessi and his 3,000 men with fury. Both Gessi and Souleyman had two guns each, and Gessi had intrenched himself. The slave dealers left 600 dead around the stockade, and after their defeat they fell back some 1,200 yards and made a fort. Gessi and they remained face to face for two months, when Gessi got fresh ammunition, and captured the wells which supplied the slave dealers with water, who then fell back. (During this two months the slave dealers attacked Gessi over and over again, but were always defeated.)

"Gessi then started in pursuit, and after a sharp action captured the second position of the slave dealers, and found the letters of Sebehr Rahama, which had ordered the slave dealers to rise. Gessi then pursued them, and every one of the ringleaders was shot. Immense droves of slaves were released, and the whole vast system of the slave trade utterly destroyed.

"The finale took place in July, 1879.

"The slave dealers were killed by hundreds by the exasperated natives, who retaliated for the cruel hunting to which they had been subjected.

"The last telegram, sent me 24th June, 1879, from the Ex-Khedive Ismail Pacha was congratulations about this affair, and the promotion of Gessi to be Pacha. During the time I governed the Soudan, Ismail Pacha supported me through thick and thin against his own Pachas, and against his own people. Piles of petitions came to H.H. against me; he would not listen to them.

"The new Khedive has never mentioned Sebehr's name or the

slave-trade revolt, has never thanked me, or any one concerned. Sebehr was tried by several Pachas on the captured letters proving his complicity with the revolt, the documents were sent to Cairo, but no action was taken, and Sebehr now gets £100 a month !

"Mr. A. B. Wyld has stated that from 20,000 to 50,000 slaves passed the Red Sea every year, and I have no hesitation in saying that 20,000 slaves have for twelve years past come down from Bahr Gazelle and Darfour, and that two-thirds of the Darfour population have been taken into slavery !

"No one can conceive the quantity of skulls which mark the slave routes. It is simply appalling.

"It is no use talking about the past, what is to be done for the future ?

"Raouf Pacha (*vide* 'Ismailia' by Baker, Appendix 'Raouf Bey') has been appointed to the Soudan. Baker will tell you what he knows of him. I turned him out of Harar for oppression, and he is the Pacha who treacherously strangled the old Ameer of Harar who surrendered to him.

"Is it likely he will discourage the slave trade? Will he not, in all probability, encourage its renewal?

"What is to be done?"

The question of what is to be done is contained in a further letter to this Society written by Colonel Gordon on the eve of his departure for India, under date 30th April, 1880.

"I have learned with equal pain and indignation that the Khedive and his subordinate officers have permitted the resuscitation of the slave trade in Darfour and the other provinces of central and equatorial Africa, and that fresh parties of slave-hunters are forming at Obeid in Kordofan, and that every order which I gave concerning the suppression of this abomination has been cancelled.

"The two missionaries—Wilson and Felkin—who have lately come down from Uganda, passed through these districts, and they tell me that the slave-hunters are all ready to start once more upon their detestable trade, and that there is a very strong feeling abroad that all the Europeans, including of course Gessi and the other officers who acted under me, are about to be turned out of the country. This report, even if it be untrue, will largely serve to lower the authority of the European officers, and to render their work more difficult.

"This news is very disheartening, especially when one realises the immense misery which will ensue to the remnants of these poor tribes of helpless negroes.

"I verily believe that nearly two-thirds of the population have already been dragged off into slavery, and I have myself stopped caravans numbering 1,600 to 2,000 slaves in the space of six weeks.

"The route traversed by these bands of slaves is strewed thick with skulls and human bones, and this horrifying statement can be fully confirmed by Messrs. Wilson and Felkin, who have only just passed over the same route.

"Surely it is time that we should cease to accept as true coin the evasions and excuses of the Khedive and his authorities. He should be given plainly to understand that England will no longer be put off with misstatements and subterfuges, and that as it has been proved that slave-hunting can be stopped—as it was when I was Governor of those countries—so it must now again be stopped.

"A decided message upon this point delivered by the English and French Governments would have a great effect. Something further ought, however, to be done by England, and I believe that the proper step for her to take would be the immediate appointment with full powers of a Consul for the Soudan, with a roving commission and headquarters at Khartoum, and with a salary of not less than £1,000 a year, as it would be necessary that he should not engage in any kind of trade.

"Another Consul for the Red Sea, with headquarters at

Massowah, and a salary of £500 a year, should also be appointed to assist him.

"Copies of the Anglo-Egyptian Slave Convention, with the decree of 17th August, 1877, ought to be affixed to the doors of all Government offices in Cairo, and in all other places in Egypt and the Soudan, so that it should be seen and read by all the people.

"This Convention is full of grave faults and omissions, but still if carried out it would be better than nothing.

"In concluding this hurried review, I would only add that the time has now surely gone by for accepting false promises and paltry excuses. Let the Khedive and his people understand, without possibility of misunderstanding, that the Governments of England and France are now in earnest in their determination that this horrible scandal to humanity, this blot upon civilisation, shall at once and for ever be put an end to."

The truth of Colonel Gordon's apprehensions has been sadly confirmed by the arrival and sale of a large caravan of slaves at Assiout, only 300 miles from Cairo and the terminus of the southern railway. A description of this nefarious transaction is contained in a letter addressed to this society by one of their correspondents, under date Cairo, 1st May, 1880, and is as follows:—

"TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

"LONDON.

"CAIRO (Egypt), 1st Mai, 1880.

"DEAR SIRS,

"Scarcely is Gordon-Pacha arrived in Europe, leaving the Egyptian service, and not yet has arrived his successor, the new Governor-General of the Soudon, Raouf Pacha at Khartoom, the slave trade begins again growing. Last week arrived here to me

my friend and Swiss compatriote, Mr. Godfrey Roth from Sioot (Upper Egypt), where he is residing since about two years as a teacher at the American Mission Schools, and told me that a great caravan of about two thousand camels, with a great number of armed slave-merchants and a great many slaves (nearly all children), has arrived at Sioot, camping before the town in the desert; that many slaves already have been sold in the town and that even the French Consul there, who is a Cophte, is himself one of the greatest slave-traders. I thought the best thing to do was to inform Mr. Ed. Malet, Her Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, whom I have the honour to know personally, and who is well known here as a man full of energy, of feelings of justice and humanity. So I sent my friend with a letter to the British Representative, in order to tell him all that happened at Sioot, and what he had seen with his own eyes. Mr. Malet immediately went with Mr. Roth to Riaz-Pacha, President of the Council of Ministers (His Highness the Khedive being at present away from Cairo). His Excellency expressed his surprise, and declared himself immediately ready, on Mr. Malet's demand, to help and to interfere with military force.

"On the following morning Mr. Roth returned by railway to Sioot, with two companies of infantry, and two days afterwards I received from him the following letter in German, of the 27th ult.

"'The day before yesterday night we encircled the whole caravan, and took prisoners 67 slaves (39 girls and 28 boys), and 600 camels, and 150 slave-merchants. All goes very well till now. I have no time to write more. I have worked through near two nights and days, and much remains still to do.'

"Of course, I immediately let Mr. Malet know the good news, and yesterday he told me that he has since himself also received official news from Sioot, though the Egyptian Ministry itself was still *without any news from the authorities at Sioot, when the above letter reached me*, the tenor of which I also let know to the Ministers! So the *first* news is received by the Government through a *private* medium!!"

A telegram has since been received from Cairo and published in the *Times* stating that the Governor of Assiout had been dismissed for his conduct in this matter, but we are assured by Colonel Gordon that we can place no reliance upon such reported action on the part of the Egyptian authorities, as it is merely a ruse to throw dust into the eyes of the civilised nations of Europe, and to cause them to imagine that the Slave trade will be put down by the voluntary action of Egypt.

Hence the necessity for the appointment of well-paid and trusty Consuls as suggested by Colonel Gordon.